

THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Pakistan History Conference
(SIXTH SESSION)
HELD AT
KARACHI
under the auspices of the

Pakistan Historical Society

1956

Compiled by

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ



PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
51 NEW KARACHI CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
Karachi-5

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	i
Pakistan Historical Society :	ii
Office bearers and Members of the Executive Committee ...	iii
Pakistan History Conference :	iv
Sixth Session held at Karachi, 1955, by Dr. S. Moinul Haq, General Secretary of the Pakistan Historical Society ~	1
Address on behalf of the Reception Committee, by Mr. A. B. A. Haileem ...	25
Speech of His Excellency the Governor-General ...	28
Speech of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, President of the Pakistan Historical Society ...	31
Presidential Address, by Shamsul Ulama Dr. U.M. Daudpota...	40
Address—Muslim Contribution to Scholarship Past, Present and Future, by Professor P.L. Kahle ...	50
Khutbah-i-Sadarat, by Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi ...	65
Presidential Address by Maulvi Zafar Hasan ...	89

ISLAMIC HISTORY SECTION

The Turkish Sailor and Cartographer, by Professor Paul Kahle, Oxford ...	101
<i>Tarikh Tasawwuf-i-Islam ahd-i-Nabavi men</i> , by Bashir Makhfi al Qadri ...	112
Shah Qasim Khan Beglar and His Burial Place, by Dr. N. A. Baloch ...	127
Masudi—One of the Greatest Encyclopaedists and Traveller in Islam, by K. J. Ahmad ...	133
Christ's Prophecy About Ahmad, by Professor Nawab Ali ...	139

HIND-PAKISTAN HISTORY SECTION

Muslim Kings of the Fifteenth Century and Bhakti Revival, by Dr. A. Halim, Dacca. ...	145
--	-----

	PAGE
The Simla Deputation, by Dr. A. Hamid, Lahore	153
An Aspect of Muslim Bengal Culture, by Dr. A. Rahim, Karachi	... 159
Jinnah and Muslim Political Separation, by Dr. Zafr-ul-Islam, Lahore	.. 171
Negotiations between Dost Mohammad Khan, Amir of Kabul and the British Government leading upto the treaty of 1855, by Mr. Z. H. Zaidi, Lahore	... 197
Hakim Ajmal Khan's Role in the Struggle for Freedom, by A. R. Khan	— ... 213
A note on the first Muslim Conquest of Srigaon and Zafar Khan Ghazi, the Conqueror, by Professor Abdul Karim Dacca	235
Khan Jahan Ali Khan, by M. Mansoor Uddin, Dacca	243
The Fundamental Unity of West Pakistan, by Mr. M. A. Roman, Quetta	247
The Rise and Fall of the Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur, by Professor M. Shamsuddin, Lahore	267
A chronology of Muslim Faughars of Sylhet, by Mr. S. M. Ali, Dacca	275
Sultan Mahmud's Principles of Government, by Dr. N. Abdul Qadir, Comilla	285
The Life and Teachings of Gautama Buddha, by Mr. Ibrahim Noor, Karachi	289

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PREFACE

The Karachi Session of the Pakistan History Conference was more successful than the previous ones. This is indicated by the fact that a much large number of papers were received for this Session.

Doctor P. Kahle, Professor Emeritus at the University of Bonn, was especially invited to attend the Conference. I take this opportunity of thanking the Government of the Federal Republic of West Germany and the German Embassy in Pakistan for assisting the Society by enabling Professor Kahle to accept our invitation and attend the Conference.

KARACHI:

S. MOINUL HAQ

December, 1959

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Office-Bearers)

President	...	...	Mr. Fazlur Rahman
Vice-Presidents	...	...	Dr. I. H. Qureshi
			Mr. A. B. A. Haleem
Treasurer	Dr. Mahmud Husain
General Secretary and Director of Research	Dr. S. Moinul Haq
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Dr. A. Halim	

PAKISTAN HISTORY CONFERENCE

(Sixth Session, held at Karachi, 1956)

By

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

The Sixth Pakistan History Conference was held at Karachi under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society at the invitation of the University of Karachi.

The inaugural session met in a commodious pandal in the lawns of the Erie gardens on Friday, the 6th January, 1956 at 3 p. m. It commenced with a recitation from the *Holy Qur'an*. The President of the Pakistan Historical Society, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M. P. then delivered his speech.

He began by making a brief reference to the work done by the Society during the short period of five years that it has been in existence and mentioned some of its recent publications. He also referred to the donation given by the Asia Foundation for the publication of the English translation of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*. The main obstacle in the way of the expansion of its research activities being the paucity of funds he requested His Excellency the Governor-General to get the annual grant of the Society enhanced to Rs. 50,000/- at least.

Turning to the historians of Pakistan Mr. Fazlur Rahman drew their attention to the need and importance of re-assessing the value of Islam's contribution to the growth of civilization. This was necessary because the history of Islam has not been presented in its true perspective. "The persistent efforts of the missionaries" said he, "and the literature produced by generations of misguided writers had given currency in the west to ideas and notions about Islam and its Prophet, which were preposterous". To support the above statement he quoted a few instances, as for example, the use of the term 'Mammetry' (Mahometry) which has its origin in the name of Prophet Muhammad and means image worship !

In Europe the Middle Ages were a period of darkness and, therefore, we need not be surprised that western scholars have a strong prejudice against medievalism; but what one fails to understand is their failure to appreciate the contribution of the East, which in

the context of the history of that period meant the contribution of Islam to the evolution of human civilization. To illustrate how deep the poison of this prejudice has injected itself into the mind of the west he referred to a statement of the author of *Medieval Islam*. "It may be debatable," says this writer, "to what extent modern occidental civilization can be explained as the continuation of classical civilization—but it would be preposterous so much as to ask whether any of its essentials are of Muslim inspirations." To combat the evil effects of these prejudices it is necessary to study and examine the works of the Muslim thinkers and scientists in a purely objective manner and then estimate the extent to which Islam has contributed to the growth of forces which became the foundation of the Renaissance in Europe. He emphasized the need of discovering the various stages through which the light of intellect and learning had to pass during the medieval centuries in order to prepare the ground for the birth and development of modern civilization. In conclusion he remarked that Islamic thought has deeply influenced European ideas and inventions but no attempt has been made to examine this problem in detail and on scientific levels. It was now time that our historians undertook this task, and at the earliest possible moment.

The speech of the President was followed by the address of Mr A. B. A. Haleem, Chairman of the Reception Committee. "Under the schemes worked out for the development of the University," he said, "historical studies, which are of special interest to this august gathering, have received special attention. The Departments of History General and Islamic History came into existence during the academic year 1953-54 and have undertaken Honours and M. A. teaching as well as guidance of research students for the degree of Ph. D. We have been fortunate in securing the services of experienced and distinguished teachers for both the departments and it may be confidently hoped that these sister departments will play their due share in the furtherance of historical investigation and research." He also made a brief reference to lack of suitable accommodation. The initial difficulties have been partly overcome and "it is hoped that within a period of five years or so the University will be transferred to the new campus."

He concluded his address by thanking His Excellency "on my own behalf as well as on behalf of the members of the Reception Committee" and requested him to inaugurate the Conference.

His Excellency Major-General Iskandar Mirza, the Governor-General of Pakistan, then delivered his inaugural address. He referred to the work of the Pakistan Historical Society and its ambitious programme of research and publications. "It will be a great pity," said His Excellency, "if this important work is allowed to suffer for want of material sources. I assure you that my Government will take cognizance of this position with a view to taking suitable steps to enhance the grant-in-aid so as to enable the Pakistan Historical Society to undertake and implement its programme of original research, translations and publications." He also made an appeal to the philanthropists in the country "to donate generously to the funds of the Society." Referring to the study of history he said that it can be "as much misleading as it can be a source of enlightenment. Truth may sometimes be coloured by racial or religious vainglory, and accuracy sacrificed on the altar of political expediency." The historian of Pakistan had a momentous task to perform, particularly because he has to "transfer the bulk of historical record left by great Muslim historians into our own literature," and "re-evaluate the history of Muslims in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and rescue it from inaccuracies and prejudices which have developed around it either through ignorance on our part or by the designs of others." His Excellency concluded his short but forceful address by drawing the attention of the Society to the need of producing an authentic biography of the Quaid-i-Azam. "I hope," he said, "the Pakistan Historical Society will also consider the necessity of producing an authentic history of the circumstances leading to the establishment of Pakistan and a biography of its founder Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. These are both fertile subjects, and the historians of the future will be grateful to you for giving them an authentic contemporary record."

The Presidential Address of the Conference was delivered by Shamsul 'Ulama. Dr. U. M. Daudpota, Member, Public Services Commission, West Pakistan. Though not a historian by profession,

he was interested in historical studies and had edited two Persian works on the history of Sind. At present he was engaged in giving final touches to his English translation of the Prolegomena of the great socio philosophic historian, Ibn Khaldan, which will shortly be published by the Pakistan Historical Society.

Dr Daudpota appealed to the historians of Pakistan "to reconstruct the story of our ancient heritage" through a careful and scientific study of the valuable historical treasures which the excavations in Mohenjodaro and Harappa have yielded. Coming to later centuries we find that even the history of Muhammad bin Qasim's conquests in the West Pakistan area 'is not known in the detail it deserves'. How this extensive territory was administered by the Umayyad and 'Abbasid governors and how it came to have two capitals—Multan and Mansurah—are interesting but as yet obscure problems of our history. In fact the entire history of these regions during the era of Muslim conquests in the north and the earlier period of the Sultanate of Delhi need a critical and detailed examination. In this connection he recommended that 'a regional survey of all historical works, lying concealed in private collections and at *khanqahs* of *sufi* saints, whose hagiologies will reveal a good deal of indirect historical information, should be undertaken under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society, aided by the munificence of the Central and Provincial Governments of Pakistan.' It was necessary to publish a new edition of Riverty's English translation of the *Tabaqat i Nasiri*. 'Similarly,' he added, 'critical editions of other earlier works on history and allied subjects, which have gone out of print or still exist in manuscript, should be sponsored by the Pakistan Historical Society and published with meticulous care. Without such works being readily available to scholars, the rewriting of our early history will be seriously handicapped. Fortunately, there is no lack of historical talent among our young scholars, and it is high time they were afforded facilities of research by collecting all the scattered sources at central places in the form of hand-written copies or photocards or microfilms and making them easily accessible for use.' Dr Daudpota was happy that 'despite handicaps' 'we have made considerable progress' and besides several works already published he

referred to the *Dhakhirat-al-Khawanin* which was being edited by Dr. S. Moinul Haq. He also mentioned the Sindhi Adabi Board, set up by the erstwhile Government of Sind, which had an "ambitious programme of publishing the Persian histories of Sind, other than the *Chach-Namah* and the *Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi* which have been already published, e. g., the *Beglar-Namah*, the *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, Book III of the *Tuhfat-al-Kiram* and all such literary and sufistic works, as directly or indirectly deal with the history of Sind. Similar steps, he thought, could be usefully taken by the Government concerned in Multan and East Bengal.

In the field of Islamic history some of the Nadawī historians specially Mu'inuddin, Rashid Akhtar and Mas'ud 'Ālam and others of the same school of thought, were doing useful work, but as they write in Urdu, their books have not attracted the attention of the orientalists. He also referred to the Islamic Research Institute and the Editorial Board of Urdu Encyclopaedia. The Muslims have from the earliest days taken a keen interest in developing the science of history, and Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Ḥishām, Ibn Qutaybah, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Miskawaihi, al-Bīrunī, al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Khaldūn have made remarkable contributions to its growth. "Even the worst critics of Islam, who attribute every advance of Muslims in the intellectual field to foreign influences, have been constrained to admit that at least the science of historiography among the Muslims had its spontaneous growth and development. To Ibn Khaldūn, indeed, belongs the honour of being the first writer, who long before Machiavelli, Vico and Gibbon had propounded historicoo-social theories, which have eversince astounded the world. While describing the function of a true historian, he says.

Know that the true purpose of history is to make us acquainted with human society, i. e., with the civilization of the world, and with its natural phenomena, such as savage life, the softening of manners, attachment to the family and the tribe, the various kinds of superiority which one people gains over another, the kingdoms and diverse dynasties, which arise in this way, the different trades and laborious occupations to which men devote themselves in

order to earn their livelihood, the sciences and arts in fine, all the manifold conditions which naturally occur in the development of civilization."

Dr Daudpota also referred to the "severious attacks" on Islam made by some of the western writers and said that they have not been properly met by the Muslim historians because of "our mental atrophy during the period of decadence." The knowledge of some of the most important of European languages besides Arabic and Persian is an essential qualification for research in Islamic history. "It is therefore, extremely important," he added, "that students, who aspire to get their M.A. or Ph.D. through a dissertation should be compulsorily required to have a thorough knowledge of Arabic which should form an integral part of the school curricula and the college courses, especially for those who wish to take up the study of Islamic culture and history. My learned friend, Dr Mahmud Huzam in his presidential address at the Fifth Pakistan History Conference held at Khurpur Mir's last year, has already drawn our attention to the urgent necessity of radically changing our history courses at the Collegiate stage. Students who wish to go in for Islamic history and culture should not only read the books prescribed for these subjects, but also should be compelled to study a special Advanced Course in Arabic besides acquiring a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the contemporary world history. Islam and its civilization were not an isolated phenomenon, but had at various points impinged on the history and civilization of other countries, without whose knowledge they cannot be appreciated in their proper perspective. Furthermore, such an intensification of the courses will enhance the value of our degrees which I am afraid, have become too cheap now, indeed, high time that the framers of various syllabuses gave their serious thought to this most important aspect of the question."

In conclusion the learned President suggested that the Archaeological Department of Pakistan should direct its attention towards the location of places mentioned by Arab geographers.

Dr Daudpota's address was followed by that of Professor P. Kahle who had been specially invited by the Society to address the Conference. Professor Kahle began his address by referring to

Muslim contribution to scholarship. "Its importance for Europe", he said, "lay in the fact, that in the long interval which separated the delay of Greek learning from the Renaissance it represented the most faithful tradition of ancient wisdom, and was for a long time the principal source from which Europe derived such philosophical and scientific ideas as she possessed." The information about Latin translations of Arabic scientific texts is very limited and investigations on this problem are still continuing, yet, it could, in fact, be said, that the whole of medieval chemistry, astronomy, mathematics and medicine is based on Hellenistic science as developed by Islamic scholars. The Greeks had a genius for theorizing and speculation. The Muslims did perhaps not always see clearly the main lines of progress, but they had a keen eye for the details and paid closer attention to the empirical facts. Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and his elder contemporary al-Rāzī (Rhazes) for long enjoyed an especially high prestige in medieval European medical circles and the *Qanūn* of Ibn Sīnā was almost the first book printed in Arabic to be published in Europe.

"We know that in philosophy the great authority at Paris University for several generations was Ibn Sīnā, and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) had perhaps an even greater influence through his commentaries on Aristotle. It was the speculation of Islamic thinkers and their works on Greek philosophy which in Latin translation, paved the way for the scholasticism of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. In the light of these facts, the claim of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, that modern European learning has only become possible as a result of the sciences developed by Islam is understandable."

Professor Kahle thought that two major obstacles stood in the way of the people acquiring an understanding of Arabic or Islamic problems :—

"*FIRST*: Arabic books were not accessible in Europe. Indeed Arabic manuscripts were scarcely to be found in European libraries until the early 17th century when on his return from a visit to the East which ended in 1629, the Leiden Professor Golius, author of a well-known Arabic dictionary, brought back to Holland a selection of about 250 Arabic manuscripts. Forty years later in 1669 his pupil

Levinus Warner, a Dutch diplomat in the East, made a gift to the Leiden Library of about 1000 Arabic manuscripts as Legatum Warnerianum. Leiden thus became a place of pilgrimage for all students of Arabic for many years. Also for Oxford valuable manuscripts were acquired about the same time by Pocock the elder and other Englishmen who bought them while serving as clergymen in the East. In addition the Escorial Library possessed a collection of valuable Arabic manuscripts which were described by the Maronite Michael Casiri in 1760-1770, and some manuscripts in the Vatican Library and other Italian Libraries were specified by members of the Assemani family. The Oxford Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts by the Hungarian Uri was published in 1778. By far the greater number of Arabic manuscripts which we now find in European libraries were not acquired before the 18th and 19th centuries.

'SECONDLY' Some hundred years ago no European scholar was to be found who knew Arabic. Theologians who had begun to study Hebrew as one of the original languages of the Bible had discovered linguistic affinities between Hebrew and Arabic, and as they began to use Arabic to help them understand Hebrew they could only see in the Arabic language a dialect of Hebrew. From such a stand point a real understanding of Arabic was impossible and Islam had for these theologians a missionary interest only."

He then explained that a true appreciation of Arabic studies began with Silvestre de Sacy who became professor of Arabic in Paris in 1795. He wrote an Arabic grammar and edited Hafni's *Magamat*. His work was continued by his pupils Fleischer may be specifically mentioned because it was through his efforts that after de Sacy's death Leipzig became the chief centre of Arabic studies in Europe. A very great number of Arabic texts were edited by the pupils of de Sacy and Fleischer and other European scholars, as for instance, Jan Michael de Goeje. They were mostly prepared with great accuracy and were reliable editions. Moreover Arabic texts were also published in the East in very great numbers. I would mention particularly those brought out in Egypt where Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Khedive, was greatly interested and in Turkey where Ibrahim Mutasim Pasha had published the first Oriental texts the so called Turkish mecmabula already in the 18th century, and as for

India which supplied the Arabic texts published with the help of Oriental scholars by Alois Sprenger and Nassau Lees, the texts published in the *BIBLIOTHECA INDICA*, and the very great number of texts published during a period of more than 70 years by the *Dairat-al-Ma'arif* in Hyderabad where the Nizam was very active in encouraging Islamic culture in general."

The publications of the Arabic texts enabled the orientalists of Europe to appreciate Islam's contribution to learning. Brocklemann's *History of Arabic Literature* (started in 1898 and completed with supplementary volumes forty years later) proved to be a landmark. The importance of Hellmut Ritter's work at Istanbul under the auspices of the German Oriental Society could hardly be overestimated.

Fleischer's work was continued by Nöldecke whose *History of the Qur'an* is a "book of fundamental importance" for the study of the Holy *Qur'an*. The credit of building up Islamic studies in Europe goes principally to his pupils, contemporaries and friends. Of these Prof. Kahle specifically mentioned Goldziher, Wellhausen and Hurgronje and their contributions to Islamic studies. "And it seems to me," he added, "a most commendable idea that the Pakistan Historical Society intends to publish a translation of the *Muhammadanische Studien*....." These three with Wensinck "may be regarded as the pioneers of *Islamwissenschaft* in Europe, but they were accompanied and followed by a great many and very able scholars in various European countries. If I may recall only a few who are no longer alive, I would mention Edward G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, Sir Thomas Arnold and D. S. Margoliouth in England, Edmond Loutte and René Basset in France, Wilhelm Barthold and Ignatz Kratczowsky in Russia, Tadeusz Kowalski in Poland, Alfonso Nallino and Michelangelo Guidi in Italy, Miguel Asín Palacios in Spain, C. H. Becker, George Jacob, Joseph Horowitz and Gotthelf Bergstrasser in Germany, and last but not least A. J. Wensinck in Holland."

As far as the "Muslim oriental scholars of today" were concerned, they were better placed than their predecessors because they could 'reap the fruits' of their contacts with Europe. Referring to the

sub-continent he said that he could not deal with all or even most of the prominent scholars of Hind-Pakistan. "True modernism in Muslim India begins with Sayyid Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Anglo-Muslim College in Aligarh, which subsequently became a university. He had seen the decay of the Moghul State and the superiority of British Government and administration of justice and, convinced that this superiority was due to the British Political system, he tried to make his countrymen acquainted with it. Moreover, he believed that the ideals inspiring this form of political system were to be found in the *Qur'an* rightly understood. The Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh gave its pupils a modern education based on the English pattern. Among the teachers of the College, Shihīl Nu'mānī was perhaps the most outstanding in combining deep eastern learning with the western critical method of research.

"Among the most outstanding students of Aligarh was Maulana Mohammed Ali whose main achievement was to make his fellow countrymen conscious of modern political work."

Professor Kahle referred to 'Allamah Iqbal as "the most important leader of Indo-Muslim modernism." Iqbal believed that "with the first world war a 500 years long period of political weakness and spiritual lethargy in the Islamic world had come to an end. He thought that the superiority of the West had been chiefly due to the fact that the European nations had made better use of the scientific knowledge transmitted to them by the Muslims than the Muslims themselves. In the spiritual restlessness which had been observable throughout the Islamic world since the beginning of the century he saw a promising sign of a Muslim renaissance. His ideal was an Islamic confederation formed by a voluntary alliance of the individual Muslim nations. He emphasized that a reform of Islamic law was necessary. The medieval system of the orthodox schools of law had to be replaced. It must be made possible for elected men to form their own opinions. Finally, he tried to remodel Islamic thought in the light of western philosophy.

"Iqbal has exerted influence on his countrymen not only by his philosophy but also by his poetry. The Islamic state of

Pakistan which he had suggested as early as 1930 became a reality in 1947, nine years after his death. The architect of Mohammad Iqbal's dream was one of the most distinguished statesmen of modern age, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. According to the Objectives Resolution framed under the leadership of the late Liaquat Ali Khan Pakistan is to be built on the laws of Islam. This is an ideal to which practical requirements must approximate."

In conclusion Professor Kahle made a few suggestions. The works published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series are far from satisfactory : "they have no critical apparatus, no indication of the manuscripts used, no table of contents, no indices and no glossary of the Persian language as used in India. Sometimes an English translation has been furnished which is, however, invariably inadequate. Would it not be an excellent idea for the Pakistan Historical Society to publish a Corpus of Muslim sources for the history of India, especially of Muslim India, edited in a scholarly way ? It would be an advantage to add to this Corpus translations critically made and provided with learned annotations."

Another suggestion made by him was that the Indo-Muslim records should be systematically collected, investigated and edited. The work done through the publication of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* could very well be continued. Besides this, "a kind of Prosopographia Indo-Islamica that is to say a biographical dictionary of Indo-Muslim Government Officials" could also be published. Professor Kahle also emphasized the need of reference libraries for research purposes. These will have to be built up and besides printed works and photo-stats of rare manuscripts they should have series of periodicals on Islam or at least those which have come out during the last 50 years. The learned professor concluded his scholarly address with these words :

"It has been a very exhilarating experience for me to see how anxious and enthusiastic you are to acquire the material you need for scholarly work and what a high standard of scholarship you have been able to maintain in the publications, particularly the Journal of your Society. Evidently learned bodies like the Pakistan Historical Society cannot thrive and fulfil their mission without

substantial aid, financial and otherwise, from the Government. Princely patronage in the days of monarchy and State encouragement in our times have ever been an important factor in the growth of learning. I sincerely wish that your Society may be helped in every possible way by a far-sighted Government."

When the inaugural meeting concluded the delegates and members of the Pakistan Historical Society went to the Governor-General's (now the President's) House, where they had been invited to a tea party by His Excellency the Governor-General.

The same evening the Reception Committee of the Conference had invited the delegates and others scholars to a dinner at the Beach Luxury Hotel.

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On the morning of the 7th January the session of the Museums Conference was held under the presidency of Dr. Mahmud Husain in the Frere gardens.

The report of the Conference will be published separately by its organisers.

*

After the session of the Museums Conference the opening ceremony of the Exhibition was performed by Mian Afzal Husain, Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University. In a few well-chosen words he addressed the audience on the utility or exhibition of records, documents, manuscripts and relics of historical importance. The Exhibition was fairly representative because in addition to exhibits from the National Museum and some institutions of Karachi one could see documents and manuscripts that had come from the Records Offices of Peshawar and Lahore. Some of the rare manuscripts belonging to the collection of Maulvi Zafar Ihsan were also exhibited.

*

Islamic History Section

The meeting of the Islamic History Section was held at 2.30 p. m. in the Islamic History Hall (University of Karachi) under the

presidency of Dr. A. H. Siddiqi. After a recitation from the Holy *Qur'an* the President delivered his address in Urdu. The English version was also available for distribution.

Dr. Siddiqi defined History as "a detailed study of the great events of the past and of the rise and fall of nations and states with particular emphasis on dates and causes of the occurrences. World tragedies may also be included in History, the object of whose study is to draw morals and decide upon one's course of action in given circumstances in the light of one's knowledge of events and affairs. In History one finds the sum-total of the wisest men of the world. No doubt, human life is ever changing but man's natural sentiments and basic needs have remained the same throughout the ages. That is why the study of History proves to be the best guide in solving the most difficult problems of life, be they individual or collective." He then proceeded to describe the origin and early growth of Muslim historiography. The main stimulus came from the anxiety of the Muslims to record the events of the life of the Prophet. "There is no parallel in world history," he said, "where the life of a single individual was recorded in such minute details and with such meticulous care as the biography of the Holy Prophet."

The major portion of the address was devoted to a discussion of the essential features of the Islamic State. "It is admitted on all hands" he said, "that the Islamic State which was established by the immediate successors of the Holy Prophet Muhammad on Quranic principles and practices of the Holy Prophet was an ideal welfare State; and whenever Muslims deviated from the fundamental principles of that State, they began to lose their power and prestige."

The main feature which distinguished the Islamic State founded by the Pious Caliphs from other States was the Quranic conception of sovereignty. The unrestricted sovereign power enjoyed by human beings in non-Islamic States has resulted "in exclusive privileges for the sovereign authorities and deprivation of equitable rights of the people as a whole." In Islam, on the hand, the principle of the supremacy of *Shari'ah* placed restrictions on power entrusted to individuals or groups of individuals. Liberty was the second

characteristic of life in an Islamic State, but this was not allowed to degenerate into licence. Fraternity was the third and justice the fourth feature of the Islamic society. How strict was the enforcement of justice is indicated by the fact that "even a Khalifah could not claim any exemption so far as appearance before the court was concerned." Another notable feature was "dual responsibility," everybody being responsible to God in addition to some worldly agency. He also explained the important point that an Islamic State was not a religious state in the sense in which a theocratic state was understood in the West. The Caliph was not a church dignitary he "was a whole time servant of the people." The next point that he discussed was the importance of *shura*. He also emphasized the fact that in an Islamic State there was no controversy between the state and the individual. "Another important feature of the Early Caliphate," he added, "was centralization in matter of administration. The very nature of the State which was based on Quranic principles demanded that there should be uniformity in administration. All power emanated from the Caliph who used to appoint Governors, Military Commanders, Quadis and all the other high officials in the State, of course in consultation with his Council.

"The Governors of the various provinces were appointed by the Caliph after taking into consideration the wishes of the people. An appointment letter was given to every Governor in which the conditions of his service were laid down and he was required to read this letter before the people at the time of taking over charge in the central mosque of the Capital of the Province. If at any time he acted contrary to those conditions, the people were entitled to lodge complaint with the Caliph who would remove him after due enquiries had been made and charges laid against him had been proved. The Governors were given adequate salaries so that they might not succumb to temptation. But in order to ensure honesty, an estimate of the wealth of the Governors used to be made by the Caliph at the time of their appointment, and whenever extraordinary accumulation of wealth by any Governor was noticed, another estimate of his wealth used to be made and surplus if any, was deposited in the Bait ul Mal. The Governors were enjoined upon

to lead a life of simplicity and austerity. If any Governor indulged in luxuries or kept a guard in order to render himself inaccessible to the public, he was punished publicly". Speaking of the economic policy he referred to the verse which says that "wealth should not circulate only among the rich." In this connection *zakah* and its principle were also explained. Lastly he referred to the position of non-Muslims in the days of the Pious Caliphate. "Since the Caliphate was an ideological state," he said, "only those persons could be entrusted with administration who had firm belief in its ideology and were conversant with its spirit and had made the realizations of the aim of that state as their life mission. It was the believers alone who had made all kinds of sacrifices and had undertaken to bear all the responsibilities of running the State and the non-believers had agreed only to live as *Zimmis* with peace and tranquility within its jurisdiction. Since the non-believers did not believe in the ideology of the Caliphate, they could not possibly be associated with its administration and also could not be entrusted with any key position. However, the Caliphate, in accordance with the verse of the Qur'an "No compulsion in matter of faith" did not believe in forcing its religion, culture and tradition on others or adopting coercive measures under the cloak of nationalism for merging the culture of the non-believers into that of believers. It thus provided full scope for the growth of their culture and tradition and the administration of their civil affairs in accordance with their own religious laws. Nay it went one step further and regarded all the non-believers as its own responsibility and as such guaranteed full liberty of conscience, protection of property, life and honour and freedom of religious beliefs to all the non-believers."

In conclusion Dr. Siddiqi threw some light on the causes of the degeneration of the Caliphate into a corrupt institution. The introduction of the system of hereditary succession, the abolition of the *shura* and the distinction between Arab and non-Arab Muslims were some of the most important causes of degeneration. Then came the shock of Mongol invasions. Referring to the later period he said, "In the last phase of Islamic glory, two most important and powerful kingdoms arose, one in the east, i.e., India and the

other in Asia Minor Both of them made wonderful contribution to world civilization and culture and spread the ideals of Islam, i.e., equality, liberty, fraternity, justice and tolerance The Western power was more successful in spreading its influence and prestige and after the conquest of Constantinople had reached the confines of Vienna The Muslim Turks might have captured the whole of Europe but for their unfortunate war with the Shiite Kingdom of Persia Both Turkish and Mughal rulers of India kept the monarchical form of Government and did away with *Shura*, i.e., rule by mutual consultation, appropriated Bait-ul-Mal money for their personal luxuries and the needs of their kith and kin In spite of these defects both these kingdoms were successful for as long as they practised the other Islamic ideals which were not to be found elsewhere On account of their liberal treatment of the subject races these rulers in both the kingdoms were regarded as liberators of mankind But both these dynasties had forgotten the first essential of an Islamic State, i.e., the chief objective of this ideological State was the spread of Islam When after the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, by the abolition of monarchies and Feudalism in Europe, the Muslim ideals of liberty, fraternity, equality, social justice and tolerance found their way into European countries and from there spread to the rest of the world, it was utterly impossible for these Turks and Mughals to continue their hold especially at a time when the degeneration had set in among them on account of hereditary succession, non applicability of laws of *Shari'ah* due to the wrong notion that the door of *Ijtihad* was closed after the codification of the laws by the four great Imams If the Turks and Mughals had continued *Tablighi* like the Arabs of the early period, and should have exercised *Ijtihad* in order to make the laws of Islam compatible with the growing need of the time they should have done real service to the cause of Islam, Muslim people of those regions and to the Univers as a whole"

Referring to the birth of Pakistan and the ideology on which its foundations could be laid Dr Sridiqi said, "Pakistan consists of two wings which are separated from each other by a thousand miles It is inhabited, no doubt, mostly by Muslims but they speak different languages and possess varying shades of culture This country

consisting of heterogeneous elements cannot build a State on the basis of territorial nationalism as several elements which constitute the nation are absent among the Pakistanis".

In the evening the delegates were invited to a music party which was arranged by Atiya Begam Sahiba at B. V. S. Parsi High School.

On Sunday, the 8th January, the Indo-Pakistan History section met under the presidentship of Maulvi Zafar Hasan at 10 A. M. in the Islamic History Hall. After a recitation from the Holy *Qur'an* the learned President delivered his address. He began by emphasizing the need of preserving the original sources because "the ever increasing popularity of the English language was adversely affecting the study of oriental languages. Indifference towards oriental learning was perhaps the most prominent and certainly the most unpatriotic feature of our intellectual life in the second half of the nineteenth century. The natural consequence of this state of affairs was that the glories of our cultural heritage preserved in the form of manuscripts were fast dying out. Some of these had no doubt seen the light of print, but it was only a drop in the ocean. The two ways of saving these treasures from ravages of time and weather were printing their texts (or translations) and collecting the original manuscripts and preserving them as best as is humanly possible. The printing of texts and translations requires elaborate arrangements and can be done by Government or learned bodies; but in the collections of manuscripts besides, libraries, even individuals can render some useful service. Most of us are acquainted with personal collections which though small in size contain valuable works. It was in this spirit of rendering my humble quota of service to the cause of oriental learning that I started collecting manuscripts on Indo-Muslim history, and also edited and published two of them. I consider myself exceptionally fortunate that in the holocaust of 1947, when all my belongings including a fairly good number of printed works were plundered at Delhi by the rioters, the manuscripts escaped their cruel hands, because they were thrown away as things of no intrinsic value. After a few weeks when I sent a relative of mine to see if anything was left in the house he found about half of my collection of manuscripts lying in a heap on the

floor of the room, which I used to call with some feeling of pride as my library. He could manage to bring them and some of them you can see in the Exhibition. Among the rarest manuscripts of his collection were the *Qur'an* transcribed by the famous calligraphist Yaqut Mustasimi, the *Diwan* of Prince Dara Shukoh and *Insha-i Hamid al-Din*. He then drew the attention of the historians to "the re-writing of history which should present in its true perspective the glory of our heritage". There are many aspects of the history of Muslim rule in India which need a careful and scientific examination. The administrative system of the Muslims, their policy towards religion and society, their contribution to the growth of Indo-Pakistani civilization, the influence of Islam on Indian civilization and culture, the influence of Hindu ideas on Muslim society and the development of the two systems without complete absorption of one by the other are some of the problems which could be specially mentioned. Speaking of the historical literature produced in the sub-continent he said, "The art of writing history systematically was introduced in Hind Pakistan with the advent of Muslims, and it took its people some time to develop a taste for it. In the beginning the task of compiling historical works was performed by those who were connected with the court. In course of time, however, matters improved and we find that most of the histories compiled later, are the productions of scholars who studied the subject for the sake of learning alone. It may be added that the Hindus had also begun to take to history writing. They followed strictly the system and style of Muslim writers. For instance, they started their works like their Muslim contemporaries with *hamd* (praises of God) *na't* (praises of the Prophet) and *mangabat* (praises of the descendants and companions of the Prophet). During the period of Muslim supremacy which lasted for more than six centuries, several dynasties rose to power one after another and ruled the empire of Delhi, while some independent monarchies sprang up from time to time in different parts of the sub-continent. Many of the rulers made it a point to have histories of their reigns and dynasties compiled on the basis of official records explaining the view point of the government of the day and

describing its achievements. Along with these official histories, which are generally rich in details and accurate in facts, we have also inherited histories written by private individuals who were opposed to the policy of the Government."

In addition to recorded historical material the historian of today could draw upon other sources. In this connection the structural remains of those times naturally occupy a prominent position. "The civilization and culture of a period" he added "manifest themselves very pronouncedly in its architecture. By the time that the Muslims laid the foundation of their empire in Hind-Pakistan Islamic architecture had acquired a fundamental character, adapted to their religious and social needs. These peculiar features of their architecture were freely introduced by them in the buildings which they constructed here. The indigenous Hindu architecture was inherently different in style from Muslim architecture. The former was trabeate based on flat roof, beams and columns, while the latter was archuate characterized by domes, vaults and arches. Other characteristic features which the Muslims introduced were minars and minarets, squinches and pendentives and grand double portals. It may be stated that lime mortar and concrete are not known to have been in use in the sub-continent before the advent of Muslims ; at any rate these materials are not traceable in the Hindu monuments, which are noticed to have been built in dry stone or brick in mud. The introduction of lime mortar and concrete was a great contribution made by the Muslims to the Indo-Pakistan art of building. The Western scholars have propounded a theory that the fusion of these styles—Muslim and Hindu—has given birth to a new one which they have called by the name of Indo-Muslim architecture. It is difficult to agree with this view. In fact what they call Indo-Muslim architecture is really Muslim architecture in local setting. The prominent features of the Muslim monuments and their general plans are purely Muslim. Innumerable monuments representing Muslim architecture in local setting are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent, and a careful examination of these relics throws a flood of light on the culture, art, social and religious ideals and economic condition of their builders."

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Another important source of information is the exceedingly large number of inscriptions. The Muslim inscriptions are mostly in Arabic and Persian. "The early inscriptions are written in *Naskh* characters irrespective of their language, whether it is Arabic or Persian. *Kufic* style is also noticed, but it is confined to religious inscriptions of a decorative nature. About the middle of the sixteenth century *Nasta'liq* made its appearance in the Indian epigraphy. Gradually it gained popularity, and in the nineteenth century it almost entirely replaced *Naskh*, which was reserved exclusively for religious inscriptions that were in Arabic. With regard to their nature and subject, the Muslim inscriptions can be classified under three heads (a) religious, containing quotations from the Holy *Qur'an* or *hadis* (sayings of the Prophet) or pious ejaculations, (b) historical references to any event or bearing names of rulers or dates and (c) ethical, comprising moral precepts and maxims."

The study of inscriptions began after the advent of the British. Referring to the activities of the Archaeological Department he mentioned the publication of the *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica* as also the fact that, according to Dr J Horwitz, as many as 1250 inscriptions have been preserved in print. Although "a substantial record of the Muslim inscriptions of India exists in print," it is "a very insignificant portion of the huge material." He suggested that the Archaeological Department of Pakistan or learned bodies like the Pakistan Historical Society should take up the task of publishing the inscriptions. Speaking of the official documents he said that the state archives of the Muslims exist no more, but some valuable documents are still preserved in old families. "Those which have come to my notice," he said, "include (i) *Farmans* and *Manshurs* (royal mandates), (ii) *Sanads* (grants), (iii) *Parwanas* (letters of appointment, etc.), (iv) *Rabkars* (state orders), (v) *Parwana i Rahdar* (permits or passports), (vi) *Tashih Namas* (muster certificates), (vii) *Dastaks* (order for payment of revenue), (viii) *Hra Namas* (certificates of relief from payments), (ix) *Zasdiqs* (attestations of rights and claims by the state authorities), (x) *Mahzar Namas* (public attestations of certain facts in the interest of the persons concerned), (xi) *Tajziz i Adalat* (Courts' judgments), (xii) *Nikah Namas* (marriage contracts) and (xiii) *Bai Namas* (sale deeds).

Muslim coins are also a useful source of information. "As in the case of epigraphy the study of numismatics was undertaken after the advent of the British, when specimens of such of them as possessed any importance in that respect were collected and preserved in museums. Subsequently the enactment of the Treasure Trove Act greatly enriched the coin collections of the various museums. To our misfortune only a few museums have published the catalogues of the coins in their possession : while in others they are lying unclassified and unarranged. Unless the coins are properly arranged and catalogued, they cannot be utilized for numismatic study, and it is expected that the coin collections in our museums will soon receive that treatment. I would, therefore, like to draw the attention of the authorities concerned to print the catalogues of the collections of coins in Pakistan museums." Lastly he mentioned folk-lore and rural songs as well as festivals and ceremonies which could be studied with considerable advantage by the scholars of history.

Concluding his scholarly address the learned President who is one of the greatest living authorities on Muslim Archaeology said, "Undoubtedly the collection of the historical material detailed above is a problem beset with many difficulties, but these can be overcome and efforts should be made to collect the material as far as possible. It is gratifying to note that the Pakistan Historical Society has already taken steps to prepare ground for historical research in our country as is evident by its Journal and other literary undertakings. The useful project sponsored by the Government of the preparation of *The History of the Freedom Movement of the Muslims of the Sub-continent* is also progressing, and I understand its first volume will be published very shortly. The Society, however, may extend its activities and devise a scheme for the publication of a comprehensive and reliable history of the period of Muslim supremacy in the sub-continent. It should have wide foundations and in fact should be a comprehensive history of Islam in Hind-Pakistan."

A number of papers were read in each section by eminent scholars including Professor P. Kahle from Oxford and Dr. Mahmud Husain, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Karachi. In the afternoon

a business meeting of the Pakistan Historical Society was held at the North-West Hotel under the chairmanship of Mr. Iazlur Rahman. Before transacting any business the members present offered *fatihah* for the departed souls of Dr. Mohammad Nazim, Professor Qazi Ahmad Mian and Maulana Aslam Jirajuri and passed resolutions of condolence. The annual report of the General Secretary was read and adopted. Before the meeting came to a close, the General Secretary thanked the authorities of the University of Karachi for inviting the session of the Conference and acting as host and the Chairman, Secretaries and Members of the Reception Committee, the Conveners of the various Sub-Committees and the Volunteer, for making excellent arrangements for the Conference. He also thanked the delegates and scholars who had participated in the deliberations of the Conference, particularly those who had come from outside Karachi.

In the evening the delegates and other scholars attended a Reception given by the Society.

On the 9th January, the delegates visited Thatta which is noted for its historical monuments.

**ADDRESSES
AND
SPEECHES**



ADDRESS

By

Mr. A. B. A. Haleem,

*Vice Chancellor University of Karachi and
Chairman Reception Committee*

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the University of Karachi and the members of the Reception Committee of the sixth session of the Pakistan History Conference it is my privilege to extend to His Excellency Major-General Iskandar Mirza, Governor-General of Pakistan and Chancellor of the University of Karachi, a very warm welcome. By accepting the Patronship-in-Chief of this conference and by consenting to inaugurate it this afternoon His Excellency has shown his deep interest in historical studies and research. I am confident that his presence in our midst today, in spite of his multifarious engagements and the cares of office which beset him, will be a source of great encouragement to workers in the field of historical investigation.

It also gives me great pleasure to extend a sincere welcome to all the delegates who have responded to our invitations and have come from different parts of Pakistan to participate in the conference. Our special welcome is due to the eminent scholars of history who have come from outside Pakistan. I am sure their contributions will lend great weight to the deliberations of the conference.

The city of Karachi, which has been honoured for the second time by being selected as the venue for the Pakistan History Conference, has had a romantic history. About two centuries back it was hardly more than a fishing village. Within this span of time it has developed from a village to an important seaport, from a seaport to the capital

of a province and from a provincial capital to the Federal Capital of a large and independent State with a population of 80 million Since the partition of this sub-continent it has expanded rapidly in different directions, its population has increased by leaps and bounds, and the growth in its industrial and commercial activity has been as marked as the increase in population The phenomenal growth of the city has made its educational problems more intricate and complex and increased the demand for educational institutions

In the year 1951, when the Pakistan History Conference assembled at Karachi for the first time, the University of Sind was functioning here and played host to the conference In June, 1951, the Sind University moved across to Hyderabad and its place was taken by the newly founded University of Karachi During the last four years the number of Colleges within the jurisdiction of this University has increased steadily and Karachi has now 17 Colleges of varying sizes and descriptions The Colleges belong to different Faculties and taken together, cover a wide range of subjects in Arts and Science, as well as Education, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Commerce Besides granting affiliation to these colleges the University has created a number of departments of teaching which provide instruction to Honours and Postgraduate students in the Faculties of Arts, Science and Commerce, and are engaged in the task of expanding the bounds of knowledge Under the College Exchange Programme it has also established, with the assistance and collaboration of the University of Pennsylvania, an Institute of public and Business Administration which is the first of its kind in the whole of Pakistan

Under the schemes worked out for the development of the University, historical studies, which are of special interest to this august gathering, have received special attention The Departments of history, General and Islamic History came into existence during the academic year 1953-54 and have undertaken Honours and M A teaching as well as guidance of research studies for the degree of Ph D We have been fortunate in securing the services of experienced and distinguished teachers for both the departments and it may be confidently hoped that these sister departments will play their due share in the furtherance of historical investigation and research

The chief problem with which the University of Karachi has been confronted eversince its inception is lack of suitable accommodation and the Departments of History General and Islamic History, like the other departments ef the University, have been suffering for want of adequate space. The initial difficulties of accommodation have been partly overcome by making additions and alterations to the old buildings which were handed over to us by the Government. Moreover, plans for a self-contained University town on a spacious site outside the city have been worked out and it is hoped that within a period of five years or so the University will be transferred to the new campus.

Karachi, as I have indicated above, is a rapidly growing city and the increase in residential accommodation has not kept pace with the increase in its population. The hostels at our disposal are hopelessly inadequate for our needs and even the hotels are overcrowded. Under these conditions we have not been able to make for the accommodation and comfort of our guests arrangements in keeping with the demands of hospitality and I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey to them the sincere regrets of the Reception Committee for the inconvenience and discomfort to which they have been subjected.

Your Excellency, I thank you once again on my own behalf as well as on behalf of the members of the Reception Committee and request you to inaugurate this conference.

SPEECH

of

His Excellency the Governor-General

Mr. President, Delegates, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a privilege to be present here this afternoon to inaugurate the sixth Session of the All-Pakistan History Conference. This Conference was first sponsored in 1951, with the object of bringing together Historians from all over Pakistan and providing them with a forum which should give their deliberations a unity of purpose both in the national and the scholastic sense.

I am really delighted to know that since its inception the Conference has pursued an ambitious programme of research and publications. Its programmes seem to have been considerably retarded by lack of adequate funds. It will be a great pity if this important work is allowed to suffer for want of material resources. I assure you that my Government will take cognizance of this position with a view to taking suitable steps to enhance the grant-in-aid so as to enable the Pakistani Historical Society to undertake and implement its programme of original research, translations and publications. I particularly appeal to the philanthropists in the country to donate generously to the funds of the Society and remove the financial difficulties of the Pakistan Historical Society which is doing work of national importance.

I do not presume to say much on the science or philosophy of history in a gathering of eminent scholars like you. But to my mind history is a branch of knowledge which appeals both to the specialist and to the lay man. It is scientific in its way of research and presentation. It is philosophic in its interpretation of men and events. And it is thrilling as romance of human experience. History relates us to the past and prepares us for the future. History

proves, as no other thing does, that individuals and nations cannot live in vacuum. From age to age, all countries and nations are only a process in the evolution of human experience. History transcends the bounds of geography just as it lifts the curtain of the past and puts the record of human wisdom and human follies under the microscope of our present environments. We can judge and evaluate them with the yardstick of our own standard and even if they do not give us much lesson, they certainly do give us plenty of information. It is in history that humanity is truly liberated from the tyranny of time and space. Although individual events may have occurred in a certain time and at a certain place, their impact leaves its mark on the wider canvas of history which consists of the cumulative experiences of the whole human race. It is for the historians to sift this mass of mingled experiences and fix them up in their proper perspective. And it is for the readers to use it for learning a lesson or for satisfying their desire for knowledge.

History can, however, be as much misleading as it can be a source of enlightenment. It all depends on the attitude with which history is recorded or interpreted. Truth may sometimes be clouded by racial or religious vainglory, and accuracy sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. It is a test of the historian's intellectual honesty to steer clear of these pitfalls. The historians of Pakistan have a momentous task to perform. They have to transfer the bulk of historical record left by great Muslim historians into our own literature. They also have to re-evaluate the history of Muslims in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and rescue it from inaccuracies and prejudices which have developed around it either through ignorance on our part or by the designs of others. I hope that in doing so our historians will place objectivity above vainglory and accuracy above all wishful thinking. While we should own the glories of our past with pride, we should also be prepared to accept our failings without shame. If history is to guide and inspire us, it must reflect us truly as we are.

I hope the Pakistan Historical Society will also consider the necessity of producing an authentic history of the circumstances leading to the establishment of Pakistan and a biography of its founder, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. These are both

fertile subjects, and the historians of the future will be grateful to you for giving them an authentic contemporary record.

Mr President, I thank you warmly for giving me this opportunity to address this gathering of eminent historians today. I wish the deliberations of the Conference all success, and hope they will make a lasting contribution to our historical studies and literature.

SPEECH of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M. C. A. *President, Pakistan Historical Society*

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the members of the Pakistan Historical Society, I thank Your Excellency for accepting our invitation to inaugurate the Conference. I also take this opportunity of thanking Professor P. Kahle who, in response to our invitation, has taken the trouble of making a long journey to attend the Conference. Our thanks are also due to the authorities of the University of Karachi for inviting the society to hold the sixth session of the Conference.

It is gratifying to note that despite many handicaps, the Society's record of work during the five years of its existence is by no means discouraging. Research on modern and scientific lines, as most of us know, entails considerable expenditure, but in spite of our meagre resources we have decided to go on with our efforts to carry out our programme. Since 1953, we have been publishing a quarterly research Journal, which, I am glad to be able to say, has during this short period of its existence, attained an international status. Some of the most well-known learned bodies of America, Europe and the East have established a permanent contact with the Society through an exchange of their Journals with ours. We have also been able to publish the following books :—

- (1) *Mashahir-i-Islam* (Urdu), by Dr. Hasan Ibrahim.
- (2) *Jauhar's Tadkiratul-Waqi'at* by Dr. S. Moinul Haq (Urdu Translation)
- (3) A Short History of Hind-Pakistan (prepared by Pakistan History Board)
- (4) *Tarajim-al-Fudala* of 'Allama Faḍl-i-Imam (edited by Mufti Intizamullah and translated into English by Mr. A. S. Bazmi)

- (5) The Proceedings of the History Conferences, 1951 and 1952, those for 1953 and 1954, will be shortly ready
- (6) A contribution of £300 has been made by the Society towards the reprinting of the Chronicle of Ibn Iyaz

We have to publish an English translation of Ibn Khaldun's well-known Prolegomena Dr U M Daudpota, who is translating it for the Society, has completed the first part, which will soon go to the press The Asia Foundation have given to the Society a donation for the publication of this work I thank the Foundation for this sympathy and also their representative in Pakistan, Mr J L Kaukonen, for the interest that he takes in our activities

The Society has before it an ambitious programme of research and publications, the details of which are given in the report of the General Secretary The English translation of Ibn Khallikan's *Wafaya'* and the Persian text of volume 1 of Shaykh Farid Bhakkari's *Dhakhira al-Khananin* may be specially mentioned Besides this, we propose to undertake the preparation of a critical and comprehensive biography of the Prophet to be written according to the modern standards of research

The Society is getting an annual grant of Rs 15 000/- from the Government, which is hardly sufficient even for our present activities Without a substantial increase in the annual grant in aid from the Government and generous donations from the philanthropists of the country the Society can neither expand its research work nor make any progress in its other activities I would, therefore, request His Excellency to help the Society in getting its grant enhanced to Rs 50,000/- at least, and also by lending his support to our appeal to the people of Pakistan for generous donations for our various schemes

I would now like to invite the attention of the scholars of history and culture, particularly those of Pakistan, to their responsibilities in this connection and would make a few suggestions as to how they can co-operate with the Society in the fulfilment of its task It is now a well known fact that Islam's contribution to the growth and evolution civilization has been grossly misrepresented There were two main reasons for this attitude of the western scholars—religious rivalry and a strong prejudice against the Middle

Ages. The persistent efforts of the missionaries and the literature produced by generations of misguided writers had given currency in the west to ideas and notions about Islam and its Prophet, which were preposterous. Idolatory is one of the greatest sins in the eyes of Islam, and yet in Europe 'Mahometry' (Mahometanism) was a synonym for image-worship; it was further corrupted into Mammetry! Is it not ridiculous that the famous poet Marlow believed that the coffin of the Porphet was suspended in mid-air! He makes a Muslim king swear:

"By sacred Mahomet, the friend of God,
Whose glorious body, when he left the world,
Clos'd in a coffin, mounted up the air,
And hung on stately Mecca's temple-roof".

(Tamburlaine, Part II, Act I, sc. I)

The poison had been injected so deep that even the most eminent writers could not escape its evil effects. Gibbon, who recognizes many virtues of the Prophet's mission, doubts his sincerity, and according to Muir the Prophet and the *Qur'an* were "the most stubborn enemies of Civilization, Liberty and Truth, which the world has yet known."

In Europe the Middle Ages were a period of darkness; hence the strong prejudices against medieval thought. What, however, surprises a student of history most is that the modern scholars, when defining European Renaissance as the rebirth of ancient learning and art, blind themselves to the universally accepted principle of continuity in the evolution of culture. They always try to jump straight to the classical period to discover the roots of modern civilization and completely ignore several centuries of man's effort and achievement, though they are conscious of the difficulty of doing so. "It may be debatable," writes the author of *Medieval Islam* (P. 342), "to what extent modern occidental civilization can be explained as the continuation of classical civilization—but it would be preposterous so much as to ask whether any of its essentials are of Muslim inspirations." No doubt in recent times western orientalists have begun to realize to an extent the contribution of Islam to civilization and have been able to discover the

channels through which the currents of Islamic thought flowed into the life of the west. As an illustration reference could be made to Dr. Hans Kruse's article *Islamic International Jurisprudence* published in the last issue of the Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society. Equally interesting is Soynbee's assessment of Ibn Khaldun's achievement that "he has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place." (*A Study of History* vol. III, p. 322). But the orientalists in general have tried to minimize the contribution of Islam by over-emphasizing the element of Hellenism. That the Muslims began their researches with the study of what their predecessors had done was but natural, because they could not have pushed forward the progress of learning without surveying the achievements of the past. It would not be out of place here to make a few references to their notable achievements and the extent to which they shared with other peoples the task of laying the foundations of modern civilization.

The first century after the death of the Prophet was a period of expansion and consolidation. But the construction of Baghdad by the great Caliph al-Mansur proved to be a turning point in the cultural history of Islam. Intellectual achievements were not few even in the earlier decades, but circumstances had limited them to the most essential branches of knowledge, and these were theology, history, law and allied disciplines. By the middle of the eighth century the cultural outlook of Islam widened. Of the well-known books translated into Arabic during this period a few could be mentioned as interesting illustrations. Under Mansur's orders an Indian work on astronomy (*Siddhanta*) was translated by al-Bazari. The famous *Kalilah we Damna* was translated from its Persian text. The original Sanskrit as well as Persian translation were lost and it was its Arabic version that became the basis of its translation into nearly forty languages of the world. But a far more important achievement of the translation stage was the entry Hellenism into the Islamic system of learning. The contacts of the Muslims with the cities of Hellenistic culture were established with the caliphal conquests of "the land

of Romans," in the time of Harūn, although a beginning had been made earlier because Mansūr is stated to have received from the Byzantine emperor a number of books including Euclid. Later, the Greek manuscripts came to Baghdād as a part of the booty obtained from Byzantine territory. The climax of this effort at translating and assimilating ancient learning reached in the time of Mamūn, whose *bait-ul-hikmat*, a combination of a research academy, a translation bureau and a library, has been rightly described as "the most important educational institution since the foundation of the Alexandrian Museum in the first half of the third century B. C."

As was but natural the period of translation was followed by that of creative activity and transmission. The first distinguished scientist, Jābir Ibn Hayyān, is stated to have set forth "remarkably sound views on methods of chemical research." On the practical side he gives improved methods for evaporation, filtration, melting, distillation and crystallization. He described the preparation of many chemical substances. He understood the preparation of crude sulphuric and nitric acids as well as a mixture of them, *aqua regia*, and the solubility of gold and silver in this acid." In the following century the most prominent figure was that of al-Rāzī (865-925 A.C.) or Rhazes of the western writers. The greatest physician of Islam and one of the greatest physicians of all time, Rāzī is credited with having written "more than 200 works, half of which are medical." His remarkable book *On Small pox and Measles*, translated into Latin, English and other languages and printed some forty times between 1498 and 1866, is the first clear and scientific treatment of these two diseases. Rāzī's works "exercised for centuries a remarkable influence over the minds of the Latin West." (Hitti, p. 367). Let me mention one more name in connection with the medical science—Ibn Sīnā (980-1037 A.C.) At an early age he started his studies in the library of the Sāmānī prince, Nūh bin Mansūr, and is stated to have started writing books when he was only twenty one. Besides medicine, he wrote on philosophy, geometry, astronomy, theology, philology and art and is stated to have left no less than ninety-nine works. His famous work, *al-Qanun*, was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona and was one of the first books to see

the light of print (1593). It soon became "the text book for medical education in the schools of Europe." Dr. William Osler has rightly described it as "a medical bible for a longer period than any other work." How important was the role that it played in the system of medical education of the early modern period of Europe is indicated by the fact that in the last quarter of the fifteenth century it passed through fifteen Latin and one Hebrew editions.

It would not be possible here to touch even the major branches of knowledge in the evolution of which the Muslims have made substantial contribution and in which their influence is distinctly discernible even today, but I would like to mention a few more thinkers of Islam. Among the philosophers al-Kindi, and more than him, al-Farabi, influenced European thought. His work on Optics, known in its translation as *De Aspectibus* influenced Roger Bacon and other western scientists. He was a great scholar of Aristotelian and Platonic systems, and being a distinguished *sufi* himself, his own philosophy is characterized by *sufistic* thought. The great contribution of Muslim philosophers was that they brought about a harmony between religion and philosophy. The service rendered by Muslim writers on *Kalam* (*Mutakallimun*) is that they reconditioned philosophical theories by subordinating them to the truths of revealed religion. Especially interesting to the students of history are Farabi's *Risalahs* on *Madinah al-Fadilah* (superior city) and *Siyasat-al-Madaniyah* (political economy) which, it cannot be doubted, were inspired by his study of Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Poetics* but are distinct from them in basic concepts because of his Islamic outlook on life. His conception of a model city (or rather of a state) is of an organism like a human body, in which the sovereign corresponds to the heart and as such is served by other functionaries. To him the object of society is the happiness of the people and an ideal sovereign in his view should be perfect morally and intellectually. In Mathematics al-Khwarizmi's name strikes us most. His remarkable *Hisab-al-Jahr wal Muqabilah*, translated into Latin in the twelfth century "was used until the sixteenth century as the principal mathematical text book of European universities, and served to introduce into Europe the science of Algebra and with it the name." He was also responsible

for introducing the system of Arabic numerals in Europe as is apparent by the term 'algorism' which is only a changed form of his name—al-Khwārizmi. In astronomy, geography, law, jurisprudence, education and so many other disciplines the Muslims made equally remarkable progress.

I would now like to say a word about the transmission of learning to Europe, because transmission is as important as contribution itself. In the beginning the individual scholars from European countries travelled to the east and returned to their countries to disseminate knowledge. But in this connection the names of Toledo and Sicily deserve to be specifically mentioned. Toledo is stated to have "attracted scholars from all parts of Europe, including England and Scotland." England played an important role in carrying Islamic learning to Europe. When lecturing at Oxford, Roger Bacon was ridiculed by his Spanish students for using faulty Latin translations of Arabic works. It is, therefore, not a matter of surprise that "he recommended his readers and listeners to abandon the European schools for those of the Arabs." (H. G. Farmer in *Legacy of Islam*, p. 371). In Sicily the period of Muslim rule roughly covered the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the influence of Islamic civilization and learning lasted for long after the political supremacy of the Muslims had ended. Under the Normans who held southern Italy also, the currents of Islamic civilization easily entered Europe. Roger II (1093-1154) of Sicily was the patron of Idrīsī, the geographer. Roger's grandson, Fredrick II (1194-1250), after becoming the head of the Holy Roman Empire in 1220 "was the highest civil authority in Christiandom ; yet his life and court were similar to those of a Muslim sultan." (Sarton, II. p. 575). He had contacts with scholars throughout the world of Islam and is stated to have been accompanied by learned men, chiefly Muslim, during his travels in Italy, Germany and the Holy Land. He had the works of Ibn Rushd translated. In 1224 he founded the University of Naples and gave to it a large collection of Arabic manuscripts. It may be added that this was the first university of Europe established by a charter. In short the Muslims kept alive the higher intellectual life and the study of science during the Middle Ages for a number of centuries, and

without their glorious contribution to the growth of knowledge the European Renaissance would not have been possible, and it is difficult to say what the course of modern history would have been.

Coming to the spiritual side of life we know that Islam's greatest contribution in religious thought and practice is the doctrine of *tauhid*. The conception of One God existed before Islam, but only as a conception. Neither in belief nor in practice it had obtained the distinct character, which it did under Islam.

Till recently Islam had been a progressive movement because even in the centuries when darkness enveloped the rest of mankind, the Muslims kept the torch of knowledge burning. No system devoid of the elasticity of progressivism could push the wheels of civilization forward with such speed and for so long a period as was done by Islam. For Pakistan today the prime necessity is to base the structure of its life on the ideals of Islam and to create a progressive welfare state. The lustre of western civilization has created a peculiar complex in a section of our educated classes and they have begun to doubt the feasibility of laying the foundations of our society on Islamic principles. The main reason of this pessimism is their ignorance of Islam and its history, and consequently their failure to capture the revolutionary spirit of Islam. They believe that the structure of our life as contemplated by Islam would place them under the domination of the half educated *mullas*, force on them a theocratic form of government and give them laws which are unsuited to the conditions and requirements of present day life. These and other obsessions of a similar nature are haunting the minds of some of our educated people. But what we have to bear in mind is the fact that the ideology of Islam has stood the test of time and progress for centuries, and with remarkable success. It was only in the day of its decline that it lost its dynamic character and the Muslims started seeking shelter under systems other than their own. Until the end of the eighteenth century the Muslims held a prominent position in the world, although they had for long been gradually drifting away from their own principles. The momentum of their vigour in the previous centuries had been keeping them strong but this could not go on for an indefinite

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

Shamsul Ulama Dr. U. M. Daudpota

M.A. (Bombay), Ph.D (Cantab)

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As-Salāmu 'Alaikum wa Rahmatu'llāh wa Barakātuh,

I feel highly honoured to have been called upon by the Executive Committee of the Pakistan Historical Society to preside over the Sixth Session of the Pakistan History Conference. When the Hon. Secretary, Dr. Sayyid Mu'inul Haqq, informed me on the very day of my departure to Lahore that the Executive Committee had chosen me to act as the General President of the Conference, in the event of Dr Muhammad Shafi having declined its invitation for reasons of health, I was not a little embarrassed. The world knows that I am not a historian by profession, nor have I any pretensions to such a claim. I have been only a humble student of Islamic history by predilection, in so far as it related to Arabic and Persian literatures, and have edited two Persian works pertaining to the history of Sind, out of sheer patriotic considerations. I am also engaged on an English translation of the Prolegomena of the great socio-philosophic historian Ibn Khaldūn, which is being sponsored by the Pakistan Historical Society for publication. If this small service to the cause of Islamic history has entitled me to the unique honour you have bestowed on me by selecting me as your President, I must, indeed, feel greatly elated.

It is a matter of great pride that His Excellency the Governor General of Pakistan has, in spite of his multifarious occupations, found time to grace this occasion with his presence and inaugurate the Conference. We are deeply grateful to him for evincing so much interest in the history of our beloved country which, though of recent creation, has its cultural origins embedded in the hoary past,

having been the cradle of an ancient civilization, of which the implications are yet to be realized, and, which as we know, extended far beyond the boundaries of West Pakistan. Embracing within itself Cutch, Kathiawar, Rajputana, Baluchistan and southern Afghanistan, in short what was called Old Sind.

This is not an exaggeration but a patent historical fact, which requires to be investigated and re-discovered. This vast territory has been the theatre-place of so many kingdoms, which had their heyday and then disappeared, leaving their ineffaceable marks, of which the ruins of Harappa and Mohan-Jo-Darro are only a few reminiscences. Its civilization, if not anterior to, is at any rate contemporaneous with Egyptian, Babylonian and Sumerian civilizations; but while the hieroglyphs and cuneiforms have been deciphered and have disclosed their mysterious contents, the scripts of Harappa and Mohan-Jo-Darro have defied the attempts of all antiquarians to unfold their hidden secrets. To reconstruct the story of our ancient heritage is the task of Pakistani historians.

Apart from this task, which, indeed, is a stupendous one, we have to write anew the history of our sub-continent since the invasion of Alexander, the Great, which divided this vast tract of land into petty principalities. But even the history of the Arab conquests of Sind under Muhammad b. al-Qāsim and of its spread right upto Kashmir in the north, Rajputana in the east, and Cutch and Gujerat in the south, is not known in the detail it deserves. How this extensive territory was administered by the Umayyad and Abbasid governors, who were sent out to Sind time after time, is practically unknown. How this greater Sind came to have two capitals—one at Mansūrah and the other at Multān, which had very close relations with each other, also remains obscure. The supposed conquest of Sind and the extinction of the Arab rule at the hands of the iconoclast Muḥmūd of Ghazna is not borne out by historical facts. Similarly, its annexation by the Ghurid Sūltān Mu'izzud-din Sām, commonly known as Shihābu'd-din, is not specifically mentioned in any contemporary historical source of information. The emergence of the Carmathians in Multan and that of the Sumrahs, who ostensibly had leanings to Bāṭinite doctrine, in Mansūrah, is not accounted for, though they are vaguely referred to in the

accounts of Mahmūd Shihabu'd-din and Iltutmish. The brave general of the last named king, Nizāmu'l-Mulk, after exterminating the power of Nasiru'd-din Qabbacha, is said to have carried his victorious arms to the southern-most extremity of Sind and captured its harbour Daibal, whose ruler, who previously had fled before the onslaught of Jalalu'd-din Mangbirni, was compelled to pay homage to the Slave king at Delbi. The brilliant court of Násiru'd-din Qabbācha at Multan, with its literary luminaries, such as 'Awfi, the author of the famous Persian anthology, the Lubābu'l-Albāb, and of the ocean of stories, the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt, and 'Alī al-Kūfi, the author of the Chach nāmah, which he translated from an old Arabic chronicle into Persian, and several celebrated poets, whose account has been briefly given by my friend, Dr. 'Abdu's-Sattār Agha, in an article, deserves a much more detailed description. By the by, Dr. Agha's thesis, *A History of Iltutmish*, which is the result of laborious research, merits publication at the expense of the Pakistan Historical Society. This entire period of our history requires to be brought to fuller light by a minute study of the existing materials. A regional survey of all historical works, lying concealed in private collections and at Khānqahs of Sufi saints, whose hagiologies will reveal a good deal of indirect historical information, should be undertaken under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society, aided by the munificence of the Centre and Provincial Governments of Pakistan.

One of the earliest Persian histories dealing with the Muslim sovereigns of Delhi and Ghazna is the *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, published long ago by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and translated into English with exhaustive notes by Major Ravery, is now out of print and therefore inaccessible to scholars. A critical edition of it with comprehensive notes in the light of new investigations is a desideratum. Similarly, critical editions of other earlier works on history and allied subjects, which have gone out of print or still exist in manuscript, should be sponsored by the Pakistan Historical Society and published with meticulous care. Without such works being readily available to scholars, the re-writing of our early history will be seriously handicapped. Fortunately, there is no

lack of historical talent among our young scholars, and it is high time they were afforded facilities of research by collecting all the scattered sources at central places in the form of hand-written copies or photostats or microfilms and making them easily accessible for use. That one of my illustrious predecessors in this chair had to confess with a keen sense of disappointment that historical studies in Pakistan had not made the same headway as should have been expected in spite of our past glorious traditions in historiography is also largely due to this unavailability of original historical sources.

But the future is big with promise. We began with a scrap in the field of history, having left behind in Bharat all our vast treasures of knowledge, which the people on the other side have not turned to a good account. Nevertheless, during the last eight years of the existence of Pakistan, we have made considerable progress, of which we could be justly proud. Though not directly conversant with what is happening in the field of historical studies and what contributions our scholars are making to research, I can without premeditation recount a few names, who had done credit both to themselves and their country :

1. Dr. I. H. Quraishi : ... The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
2. Dr. Muhammad 'Aziz Ahmad: Early Turkish Empire of Delhi.
3. Dr. Mahdi Husain : ... The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Tughluq.
4. Dr. Hamidullah : ... The Muslim Conduct of State.
5. Dr. Mahmud Ahmad : ... The Economies of Islam.

Such names could easily be multiplied. Besides, several other scholars, whose names are unknown to me, must be engaged on research, particularly post-graduate students in the diverse universities of Pakistan. But their dissertations, instead of languishing in the archives of the universities, should be published, even though with certain modifications and made to see the light of day. Again several other scholars must be busy with editing certain rare manuscripts, which have a direct bearing on the history of our country.

For instance, my worthy friend, Dr Sayyid Mu'inu'l Haq, is at present editing the *Dakhiratu'l Khawanin* of Shaikh Farid Bakkari, which gives the life-accounts of all the dignitaries of Emperor Akbar's reign.

Leaving aside the individual scholars, several organized societies have been doing very useful work. In this connection, the name of the Sindhi Adabi Board, formed by the erstwhile Government of Sind, deserves to be especially mentioned. It has an ambitious programme of publishing the Persian histories of Sind, other than the *Chach namah* and the *Ta'rikh-i-Masumi*, which have been already published, e.g., the Beglar namah, the *Ta'rikh-i-Tabiri*, Book III of the *Tuhfsatu'l Kiram*, and all such literary and sufistic works, as directly or indirectly deal with the history of Sind. It is to be fervently hoped that the West Pakistan Government will liberally finance the Board, so that it should be enabled to fulfil its programme. A similar society should be formed under the patronage of Government to delve into the past records of Multan, which, I am sure, contain very valuable material for research. I do not know what strides our East Bengal brethren have made in this direction. The history of the entire province of Bengal from its earliest times needs to be explored and rewritten, not only from the Islamic but from the scientific critical point of view. Some years ago, before Pakistan came into being, one Professor Bannerjee of Allahabad had conceived a project of writing a series on the history of India, to which I, too, had contributed a chapter on the history of Sind, dealing with the Sumrahs and Sammahs, but I suppose the whole scheme fizzled out. A similar project was contemplated by the scholars of Nadwah to prepare a complete history of Islam, but it is not known how far they succeeded in their aim. Nevertheless, the works such as those of Mu'inu'd-din Nadwi, Rashid Akhtar Nadwi, Mas'ad 'Alam Nadwi and others of the same school of thought bear unmistakable marks of their earnestness and zeal to revive the past glories of Islam. But all their works are written in Urdu and therefore have failed to attract the attention of the orientalists. A good deal of work in the field of Islamic culture, however lop-sided, is being done by the Islamic Research Institute, while the Editorial Board of the Urdu Ency-

clopedia of Islam has done no more than some spade-work. It would be in the fitness of things if the Pakistan Historical Society launched a scheme of the sort in the immediate future.

The writing of general and particular histories and of biographies of prophets and prominent persons has been quite common among the Muslim savants from the early centuries of Islam. Who has not heard the names of Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hisham, Ibn Qutaibah, Tabari, Ibnu'l-Athīr, Ibn Maskawaihi, al-Bīrūnī, al-Mas'ūdī, and Ibn Khaldūn, all of whom have made signal contributions to the science of historiography, on the origin and growth of which I need not dwell here. Even the worst critics of Islam, who attribute every advance of Muslims in the intellectual field to foreign influences, have been constrained to admit that at least the science of historiography among the Muslims had its spontaneous growth and development. To Ibn Khaldūn, indeed, belongs the honour of being the first writer, who long before Machiavelli, Vico and Gibbon, had propounded historic-social theories, which have ever since astounded the world. While describing the function of a true historian, he says :

Know that the true purpose of history is to make us acquainted with human society, *i. e.*, with the civilization of the world, and with its natural phenomena, such as savage life, the softening of manners, attachment to the family and the tribe, the various kinds of superiority which one people gains over another, the kingdoms and diverse dynasties which arise in this way, the different trades and laborious occupations to which men devote themselves in order to earn their livelihood, the sciences and arts in fine, all the manifold conditions which naturally occur in the development of civilization.

History, thus conceived, is subject to universal laws, which provide the only sure criterion of historical truth.

The rule for distinguishing what is true from what is false in history is based on its possibility or impossibility ; that is to say, we must examine human society (civilization) and discriminate between the characteristics which are

essential and inherent in its nature and those which are accidental and need not to be taken into account, recognising further those which cannot possibly belong to it. If we do this, we have a rule for separating historical truth from error by means of a demonstrative method that admits of no doubt. It is a genuine touch stone whereby historians may verify whatever they relate.

Keeping these sound principles in view, our historians should set themselves to the task of writing history in such a way as not to be a mere chronicle of events, but a true mirror of the ethical, social, cultural, economical and political conditions of the people. While adherence to objectivity and strict truth should be their primary consideration, they should avoid being drab and tasteless. History, being literature, should be portrayed in a pleasing manner in order to appeal to our aesthetic sense. It should embrace within itself the wider movements of the human spirit and should be universal in its natural sympathies. The narrow national outlook or religious fanaticism vitiates the very purpose of history. But that does not mean that we should allow other people to garble the facts of our history and lower us in the estimation of the world. So, whenever we find that truth is sacrificed to pander to certain prejudices, we should ruthlessly attack them with all the historical evidence at our command. Western historians and writers of the mediaeval as well as modern times, with the exception of a few fair-minded orientalists, have in and out of season made scurrilous attacks on Islam and Muslims in all parts of the world, although we ourselves are largely to blame for most of them. Our old historians, in their anxiety to give all side of the picture, have incorporated in their works some absurd and incredible accounts, which have given these enemies of Islam an opportunity to paint us in black colour. Our mental atrophy during the period of our decadence to produce original historical works, based upon real scientific research, has also given our adversaries a chance to stuff their histories with all sorts of malicious statements about our culture and society. Their similitude is that of the lion and the man in the fable, who is said to have shown him a picture in which a hunter having killed a lion was sitting astride its corpse.

The lion jeeringly remarked that if the lion had been the painter the scene would have been different. We should be wide awake to defend our heritage against the carping animadversions of Western writers. This can be achieved only when we are fully armed with accurate knowledge and Western methods of criticism.

In order to appreciate and assess the value of what has been written by Western critics and others on our religion and history, it is essential that our budding scholars should be well versed in some of the most important European languages, apart from possessing a fairly deep knowledge of Arabic and Persian, without which no research on Islamic history is possible. Unfortunately, the learning of Arabic has been sadly neglected by our universities, and what with the aversion of our own people, who are deluded by certain will o'-the-wisp, and what with the paucity of proper teachers, the situation has become very grave. Perfunctory acquaintance with mere Persian is not enough even to grasp the contents of histories like the Akbar-nāmah or the Jahāngushā-i-Nādari. It is, therefore, extremely important that students, who aspire to get their M. A. or Ph. D. through a dissertation, should be compulsorily required to have a thorough knowledge of Arabic, which should form an integral part of the school curricula and the college courses, especially for those who wish to take up the study of Islamic culture and history. My learned friend, Dr. Mahmūd Husain, in his presidential address at the Fifth Pakistan History Conference held at Khairpur Mir's last year, has already drawn our attention to the urgent necessity of radically changing our history courses at the collegiate stage. Students who wish to go in for Islamic history and culture should not only read the books prescribed for these subjects, but also should be compelled to study a special Advanced Course in Arabic, besides acquiring a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the contemporary world history. Islam and its civilization were not an isolated phenomenon, but had at various points impinged on the history and civilization of other countries, without whose knowledge they cannot be appreciated in their proper perspective. Furthermore, such an intensification of the courses will enhance the value of our degrees, which, I am afraid,

have become too cheap. It is, indeed, high time that the framers of various syllabuses gave their serious thought to this most important aspect of the question.

History and Geography are allied subjects, but for all practical purposes they are studied apart, and our historians seem to have paid precious little attention to the geography of our own country. The unification of West Pakistan has imposed upon them a tremendous responsibility that they must be fully acquainted with its ancient geography. Not to speak of the prehistoric towns, which have completely disappeared from the map, even the names of the towns recorded by the Arab geographers are not identifiable. A serious attempt should be made to locate these towns. It is a pity that so far no advance has been made on Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India. The Archaeological Department of Pakistan has not contributed much in this direction, and our knowledge of the ancient sites has not gone beyond what we learn from Bannerjee, Marshall and McCahe. Even the site of Dahal of which fairly clear indication have been given by local historians, has been hopelessly confounded with that of Bhanbhore. Historians and antiquarians should co-ordinate their efforts to dig up the past history, and the Archaeological Department should be girded up by Government to bestir itself to greater activity. Considerable funds should be placed at its disposal to complete the excavations of the old sites and to undertake fresh excavations. It is only when our early history is laid bare that the history of the present and the future can be founded on a firmer basis.

We are living at a time when momentous changes are taking place in our country. Its constitution is being hammered out. Pakistani historians should bear a significant part in the framing of the constitution. It is tragic to think that half-baked Maulavis, who are absolutely ignorant of the international constitutional law and have but a smattering knowledge of our past history and civilization, and the so called politicians, who do not know even the A. B C of politics, should be asked to draw up our constitution, which ought to be based on what is best and most abiding in our cultural traditions. In my opinion, it is historians alone, who can steer clear of party squabbles.

and petty parochial jealousies and unbecoming compromises, and draw up a constitution, which will be acceptable to the nation as a whole and at the same time command the respect of the world at large.

In the end would I beg of you, ladies and gentlemen, to forgive me for poaching upon the preserve of historians and allow me to thank you for patiently listening to my somewhat lengthy speech.

ربنا لا تجعلنا فتنه للذين كفروا واغفر لنا ربنا وانك

انت العزيز لحكيم

ADDRESS

by

Professor P. E. Kahle

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOLARSHIP PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

The Pakistan Historical Society has invited me as a representative European Orientalist to give the Inaugural Address at your conference. It has bestowed upon me an honour of which I am deeply conscious. It is at the same time a great pleasure to me to be present among you. The more as we Europeans study Arabic texts in which Muslim contributions to scholarship are chiefly contained, the more clearly we see how much prominent Muslims have achieved in the field of learning. I shall confine myself to a few examples.

When we speak of "Arab Science" or "Arab Medicine", we mean that body of scientific or medical doctrine which is enshrined in books written in the Arabic language, but is for the most part Greek in origin only in a certain degree the product of the Muslim mind? Its importance for Europe lay in the fact, that in the long interval which separated the decay of Greek learning from the Renaissance it represented the most faithful tradition of ancient wisdom, and was for a long time the principal source from which Europe derived such philosophical and scientific ideas as she possessed. The translation of Greek books into Arabic was effected under the enlightened patronage of the early Abbaside Caliphs at Baghdad chiefly in the 8th and 9th centuries. A few centuries later the Arabic texts had been translated into Latin and provided the foundation for European sciences.

There is still far too little known for us to survey comprehensively the Latin translations of Arabic scientific texts which were made principally by Spanish Jews from the 10th century onwards, or to estimate exactly their importance for the growth of European culture. These problems are now being very actively investigated and we are beginning to realise how much mediaeval Europe owes to Muslim science. It can in fact be said, that the whole of mediaeval chemistry, astronomy, mathematics and medicine is based on Hellenistic science as developed by Islamic scholars. The Greeks had a genius for theorizing and speculation. The Muslims did perhaps not always see clearly the main lines of progress, but they had keen eye for the details and paid closer attention to the empirical facts. Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and his elder contemporary ar-Razi (Rhazes) for long enjoyed an especially high prestige in mediaeval European medical circles, and the Kanun of Ibn Sina was almost the first book printed in Arabic to be published in Europe.

We know too that in philosophy the great authority at Paris University for several generations was Ibn Sina, and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) had perhaps an even greater influence through his commentaries on Aristotle. It was the speculation of Islamic thinkers and their works on Greek philosophy which in Latin translations, paved the way for the scholasticism of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. In the light of these facts, the claim of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, that modern European learning has only become possible as a result of the sciences developed by Islam is understandable.

At the time of Renaissance the people of Europe came into direct contact with the classical world. Greek and Latin were studied with great enthusiasm. Humanist scholars were even engaged in making critical editions of the Hebrew Bible, a task undertaken by Jews who had been educated in Humanistic universities. We know of two such editions. One was the first Rabbinic Bible, prepared by the very learned Felix Pratensis in Venice, the other the Complutensian Polyglot, prepared by the efforts of Cardinal Ximenes in Spain, both finished in 1517 and both dedicated to Pope Leo X. But for a long time the people of Europe were quite unable to acquire any understanding of Arabic or of Islamic problems because no Arab scholars were available, and in any case two other major obstacles stood in the way.

FIRST: Arabic books were not accessible in Europe. Indeed, Arabic manuscripts were scarcely to be found in European libraries until the early 17th century, when on his return from a visit to the East which ended in 1629, to Leiden Professor Golius, author of a well-known Arabic dictionary brought back to Holland a selection of about 250 Arabic manuscripts. Forty years later in 1669 his pupil Levinus Warner, a Dutch diplomat in the East, made a gift to the Leiden Library of about 1,000 Arabic manuscripts as Legatum Warnerianum. Leiden thus became a place of pilgrimage for all students of Arabic for many years. Also for Oxford valuable manuscripts were acquired about the same time by Pocock the elder and other Englishmen who bought them while serving as clergymen in the East. In addition the Escorial Library possessed a collection of valuable Arabic manuscripts which were described by the Maronite Michael Casiri in 1760-1770, and some manuscripts in the Vatican Library and other Italian Libraries were specified by members of the Assemani family. The Oxford Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts by the Hungarian Uri was published in 1778. By far the greater number of Arabic manuscripts which we now find in European libraries were not acquired before the 18th and 19th centuries.

SECONDLY. Some hundred years ago no European scholar was to be found who knew Arabic. Theologians who had begun to study Hebrew as one of the original languages of the Bible had discovered linguistic affinities between Hebrew and Arabic, and as they began to use Arabic to help them understand Hebrew, they could only see in the Arabic language a dialect of Hebrew. From such a standpoint a real understanding of Arabic was impossible, and Islam had for these theologians a missionary interest only.

A true appreciation of Arabic studies was not created in Europe before the time of the great French scholar Silvestre de Sacy. In France more than anywhere else the ideas of the enlightenment has liberated thought and created the possibility of Arabic studies independent of theology. In 1795 de Sacy was nominated Professor of Arabic in Paris. He published an epoch-making Arabic Grammar, and in his CHRESTOMATHY a valuable anthology of Arabic text

taken from manuscripts of the Paris Library. He also published a famous edition of Hariri's Makamat, a book which even attracted attention in the East, and many other books. As a teacher and scholar, as a member of the French Academy and later its permanent secretary, he had a powerful influence on the development of Arabic and Islamic studies in the West.

The effect of de Sacy's teaching was to be seen above all in his pupils who came in great numbers, not only from France, but from many other countries, from Spain, the Nordic lands, England and especially Germany, and among these the most important was Fleischer. By combining the exact grammatical training which he had received under de Sacy with the precise methods of classical philology he created Arabic as a special branch of knowledge and Leipzig became, after de Sacy's death, the chief centre of Arabic studies for a long time.

A very great number of Arabic texts were edited by the pupils of de Sacy and Fleischer and by other European scholars, as for instance Jan Michael de Goeje. They were mostly prepared with great accuracy and were reliable editions. Moreover Arabic texts were also published in the East in very great numbers, I would mention particularly those brought out in Egypt where Mehmed Ali Pasha, the Khedive, was greatly interested and in Turkey where Ibrahim Mutaferrika had published the first Oriental texts, the so-called Turkish incunabula, already in the 18th century, and as for India which supplied the Arabic texts published with the help of Oriental scholars by Alois Sprenger and Nassau Lees, the texts published in the BIBLIOTHECA INDICA, and the very great number of texts published during a period of more than 70 years by the Dairat-al-Ma'rif in Hyderabad where the Nizam was very active in encouraging Islamic culture in general.

These published Arabic texts obtained a wide circulation, and on the basis of such printed texts and the manuscripts made known by catalogues of a sometimes excellent nature, an appreciation of the Muslim contribution to scholarship became possible. Carl

Brockelmann wrote in 1898 and 1902 the two volumes of his *HISTORY OF ARABIC LITERATURE*, a kind of Catalogus Catalogorum, in which he tried to enumerate all the Arabic texts known, and indicated where manuscripts were preserved and where texts had been printed. It was a work which contained 1200 pages. Forty years later Brockelmann published in three large volumes a Supplement to this book which had more than 3300 pages. To such an extent had the material increased. Many texts had been printed during the interval, but the main bulk of the additions came from manuscripts identified in various libraries, especially, in Istanbul, where after the Turkish Revolution in 1908 the libraries were made easier of access, and the rich collections of manuscripts became known which the Turkish Sultans and members of the ruling classes had amassed in their capital. Amongst them were often to be found the rarest and most valuable texts, but the existing catalogues of these libraries were incomplete and very unreliable. A real expert on manuscripts was required. The *DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT* (German Oriental Society) created a special branch for work on the Arabic manuscripts in Istanbul and for about 25 years Hellmut Ritter was in charge of it. One can hardly over-estimate the importance of the work done by him. It is due to his co-operation that the Supplementary volumes of Brockelmann's *GESCHICHTE DER ARABISCHEN LITERATUR* could be brought out as they have been. The five volumes of Brockelmann's book are indispensable and should become more and more so. It is to be hoped that this work will be a stimulus to everyone who possesses rare Arabic texts to compile a catalogue of them, in order that future editors of Brockelmann's *GESCHICHTE DER ARABISCHEN LITERATUR* may make of it a complete inventory of all Arabic texts written by Muslims which are still in existence.

Fleischer's work in Leipzig was continued, but in a different way by Theodor Nöldeke who became a focus for Oriental studies at Strassburg University for some forty years. In his younger days, in 1860, he had published his brilliant *HISTORY OF THE KORAN*, which had been awarded a prize by the French Academy and of

which a new and greatly revised edition was prepared by Noldeke's pupils Schwally, Bergstrasser and Pretzl, in three volumes: UBER DEN URSPRUNG DES QORANS (1909), DIE SAMMLUNG DES QORANS, (1919), DIE GESCHICHTE DES QORAN-TEXTES (1938), a book of fundamental importance for all who have to do with the QORAN in scholarly research.

Noldeke was a great Semitic scholar but also a man with a deep understanding for problems of Islam. The principal men who built up Islamic studies in Europe were his pupils, contemporaries and friends, above all Goldziher, Wellhausen and Snouck Hurgronje. It is chiefly due to these scholars that we are now able to form an appreciation of the Muslim contribution to scholarship.

Goldziher's first book was DIE ZAHIRITEN, IHR LEHRSYSTEM UND IHRE GESCHICHTE (1884), in which he deals with the foundation, the sources and principles of Islamic Law, and he subsequently brought out the two volumes of his MOHAMMEDANISCHE STUDIEN (1889, 1890), a methodical account of Mohammedan tradition. We are taught that not the facts of the traditions, but the tendencies contained in the facts provide historical truth. The first volume of the book is devoted to Arab paganism. We see how this is defeated and Islam takes over instead, and the vast enterprise of converting the Near East to Islam is outlined for us. By this and his later books Goldziher became the central authority for all problems of ISLAMWISSENSCHAFT, and it seems to me a most commendable idea that the Pakistan Historical Society intends to publish a translation of the MOHAMMEDANISCHE STUDIEN which are now almost unobtainable in the German original. The book would provide a secure basis for scholarly research in the future. I think it is worth serious consideration whether other works of this great scholar should not be made available in translation for students in the Indian sub-continent.

Julius Wellhausen was an historical genius. By his critical investigation of the sources he completely transformed the attitude taken to Old Testament history. By discussing textual, linguistic and historical problems he gave a new impulse to the investigation

of problems of the New testament text. For early Arab history he found a vast quantity of material especially in the great chronological of Tabari edited under the direction of de Goeje. He discovered the essential sources and with their help made a brilliant reconstruction of the course of events which rendered obsolete all earlier attempts at writing that history. His book DAS ARABISCHE REICH UND SEIN STURZ (1902), dealing with the Omajade Caliphate of Damascus, has been translated into English under the title THE ARAB KINGDOM AND ITS FALL (Calcutta 1917). I think it highly desirable that his studies of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic history of Arabia should be made available in translation also.

Christian Snouck Hurgronje wrote as thesis in 1880 his famous book on the Meccan Festival. In 1884 he began his remarkable journey to Arabia, first staying for some months in Jiddah, then, from 22nd February, 1885 onwards, in Mecca, where he had spent six months under the name Abd al-Ghaffar when he was forced to leave just before the season of pilgrimage on account of an intrigue against him. He published the result of his studies in his book MEKKA, of which the first volume deals with the city and its rulers, the second with present day life. The second volume was published in 1931 in an English translation under the title MEKKA IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 19TH CENTURY: DAILY LIFE, CUSTOMS AND LEARNING, THE MUSLIMS OF THE EASI-INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO. From 1891 onwards he served his home country as an eminent colonial official and became the great authority for all problems concerning the Muslims living in these colonies. In 1906 he took over de Goeje's chair at Leiden University and became an outstanding teacher and scholar. In 1914/15 he delivered in America his famous lectures on the "Origin of Islam", on the "Religious Development" and the "Political Development of Islam", and "Islam and Modern Thought". It was he who gave the initial impetus to two great undertakings. One was the ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM, which although edited officially by other men with a large number of contributors had, as we all knew, his hand behind it. The other

work was the CONCORDANCE AND INDICES OF ISLAMIC TRADITION, edited by his very able pupil and successor Wensinck, and after the latter's premature death by his followers.

These four scholars whose work I have briefly sketched may be regarded as the pioneers of Islamwissenschaft in Europe, but they were accompanied and followed by a great many very able scholars in various European countries. If I may recall only a few who are no longer alive, I would mention Edward G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, Sir Thomas Arnold and D. S. Margoliouth, in England, Edmond Loutte and Rene Basset in France, Wilhelm Barthold and Ignatz Kratchkowsky in Russia, Tadeusz Kowalski in Poland, Alfano Nallino and Michelangelo Guidi in Italy, Miguel Asin Palacios in Spain, C. H. Becker, Georg Jacob, Joseph Horowitz, and Gotthelf Bergstrasser in Germany, and last but not least A. J. Wensinck in Holland.

We must also take into consideration the many periodicals devoted exclusively to Islamic questions, such as DER ISLAM, ZEITSHRIFFT FUR GESCHICHTE AND KULTUR DES ISLAMISCHEN ORIENTS, LA REVUE DU MONDE MUSULMAN, ORIENTE MODERNO, AL-ANDALUS, THE MOSLEM WORLD, and DIE WELT DES ISLAM, not to say anything of the many periodicals devoted to Oriental problems in general which very often contain articles on Islam. Nor must one fail to remember the many volumes of Leone Caetani's ANNALI DELL, ISLAM, the E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL SERIES which has to its credit the publication of so many Islamic texts, the BIBLIOTHECA ISLAMICA, edited for the German Oriental Society by Hellmut Ritter, and above all the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ISLAM, which has come to be of such importance that it is now being published at Lahore in Urdu under the direction of Dr. Mohamed Shafi.

I think we may say that the Muslim contribution to scholarship in the past could hardly be assessed by the West before about a century ago. How highly it has been valued in Europe more recently we may discern from the publication and scholars named above.

On the other hand, Oriental Muslim scholars of to-day are in a more advantageous position than their predecessors. They can reap the fruits of contact with Europe. Turkey had diplomatic relations with Europe from the 18th century onwards and perhaps earlier. The expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte brought European influence to Egypt. In the case of India there immediately occurs to one's mind the pioneer work of Sir William Jones who came to Calcutta as a lawyer in 1783 after already having established a reputation with his commentaries on Asiatic poetry. The encouragement given by him and the Asiatic Society of Bengal led to the foundation of the College of Fort William in Calcutta in 1800, from which Indology gained inestimable benefit. But since the Moghul Empire was under a Muslim rule, and Arabic was the language of religious worship and of scholarly intercourse, whilst Persian was the general language of administration and government, the British who founded the College had to make due provision for Islam and its principal languages no less than for Sanskrit and Hinduism.

In Calcutta, the beginnings of Indo-Muslim modernism are associated with Alois Spenger who came to India in 1842 and became the director of Calcutta Madrasa in 1850. To him is due the credit of editing, with the help of Indian scholars, quite a number of important Arabic texts. Other texts were edited, with similar assistance, by Nassau Lees, as for instance the fine edition of Zamakhshari's Kashshaf. These scholars also began to publish in the Bibliotheca Indica the large number of Indo-Islamic historical works written in the Persian language. Later Sir Denison Ross was for some time Director of Calcutta Madrasa and initiated the cataloguing of Arab and Persian manuscripts, especially those in the valuable Oriental Public Library at Bankipore.

I cannot deal here with the many prominent Islamic scholars in India who followed. True modernism in Muslim India begins with Sayyed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Anglo-Muslim College in Aligarh, which subsequently became a university. He had seen the decay of the Moghul State and the superiority of British Government and administration of justice, and, convinced that this

superiority was due to the British political system, he tried to make his countrymen acquainted with it. Moreover, he believed that the ideals inspiring this form of political system were to be found in the Koran rightly understood. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh gave its pupils a modern education based on the English pattern. Among the teachers of the College, Shibli Nu'mani was perhaps the most outstanding in combining deep Eastern learning with the western critical method of research.

Among the most outstanding students of Aligarh was Maulana Mohammed Ali whose main achievement was to make his fellow countrymen conscious of modern political work.

After the death of Ahmed Khan (1898) the most important leader of Indo-Muslim modernism was Muhammed Iqbal who first studied in Lahore and then in Europe. At the beginning of the century he came to Munich. It was a time when great changes were beginning to take place in Western modes of thought. In philosophy Henry Bergson was having a profound effect on contemporary thinkers with his conception of ELAN VITAL. In psychology Sigmund Freud claimed to have exposed hidden forces in the subconscious and unconscious which had previously escaped rational analysis. The American William James, with the aid of biological methods, had made a new estimate of the different kinds of religious experience. In 1905 a revolution in physical science was initiated by Albert Einstein when he announced his special theory of relativity according to which space and time are relative to a given frame of reference.

All these theories were carefully studied by Muhammed Iqbal, and in six lectures, delivered in Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh, published under the title THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM he stated the result of his reflection in a systematic way. I have already referred to his view of medieval Muslim science and its importance for the development of European science. He believed that with the first world war 500 years long period of political weakness and spiritual lethargy in the Islamic

world had come to an end. He thought that the superiority of the West had been chiefly due to the fact that the European nations had made better use of the scientific knowledge transmitted to them by the Muslims than the Muslims themselves. In the spiritual restlessness which had been observable throughout the Islamic world since the beginning of the century he saw a promising sign of a Muslim renaissance. His ideal was an Islamic confederation formed by a voluntary alliance of the individual Muslim nations. He emphasized that a reform of Islamic Law was necessary. The medieval system of the orthodox schools of law had to be replaced. It must be made possible for elect men to form their own opinions. Finally, he tried to remodel Islamic thought in the light of Western philosophy.

Iqbal has exerted a great influence on his countrymen, not only by his philosophy but also by his poetry. The Islamic state of Pakistan which he had suggested as early as 1930 became a reality in 1947, nine years after his death. The architect of Mohammed Iqbal's dream was one of the most distinguished statesmen of modern age Quaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah. According to the Objectives Resolution framed under the leadership of the late Liaquat Ali Khan Pakistan is to be built on the laws of Islam. This is an ideal to which practical requirements must approximate. May we hope that such principles may in due course bear full fruit and that there will be those who will continue along the way pointed out by Sir Mohammed Iqbal.

In these circumstances, what are the prospects for Muslim scholarship in the future? I need hardly say that it cannot be furthered without employing these critical methods which have been elaborated in the West during the past century. This being so, there is a paramount need for close co-operation between Eastern and Western scholars. You have sent your best men to European universities not in order to be westernised, but in order to come in contact with the academic life cultivated there. You have invited

European scholars to become teachers in your universities, and some of them, at least, have been, I think, very useful to you.

On the other hand I had myself for a number of years the opportunity to welcome prominent Eastern scholars in my Oriental Institute at Bonn University. They were of the greatest value and gave the whole atmosphere of the Institute a distinctive character and I have remained on the best terms with them. I may mention here my friend Dr. Takieddin al-Hilali, from Morocco, a great Arabic scholar who is now in Baghdad. He had lectured for some years on Arabic literature at NADWAT-AL-ULMA in Lucknow, before coming to Bonn. We worked together for some years on very difficult Arabic texts with the greatest profit to both of us. Then there is my friend Dr. Zeki Validi Togan, Professor at Istanbul University, who worked for several years with us at Bonn University. I may also mention the very learned Dr. Mohammed Hamidullah from Hyderabad where he was a Professor at Osmania University, and who is now in Paris. Together with Dr. Mohammed Mustafa now director of the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art who was for many years my assistant in Bonn, I published several volumes of the Chronicle on Egypt by Ibn Iyas, for the reproduction of which—after the existing copies had been destroyed during the war—your Society made a generous grant.

Many of you—I am sure—will have had analogous experiences. Co-operation of such a kind should be encouraged and extended in every appropriate way.

Perhaps I may be allowed in conclusion to make a few suggestions for work which could well be done in this country. I have already referred to the Persian texts concerned with Muslim history in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Unfortunately they have been published in a somewhat unsatisfactory way. They have no critical apparatus, no indication of the manuscripts used, no table of contents, no indices and no glossary of the Persian language as used in India. Sometimes an English translation has been furnished which is, however,

invariably inadequate. Would it not be an excellent idea for the Pakistan Historical Society to publish a corpus of Muslim sources for the history of India, especially of Muslim India, edited in a scholarly way? It would be an advantage to add to this Corpus translations critically made and provided with learned annotations.

I would also suggest that Indo-Muslim records should be systematically collected, edited and investigated. In so far as these records are found in the form of monumental inscriptions some work has already been done in the *EPIGRAPHIA INDO MOSLEMICA*, published under the authority of the Government of India by Horovitz and certain Indian scholars, but it is only a beginning, and besides inscriptions on historical monuments, all sorts of documents from public archives should be published.

One could further plan to compile a kind of *Prosopographia Indo Islamica*, that is to say a biographical dictionary of Indo-Muslim Government officials of the Moghul Empire and after. One such dictionary was published by a certain Samsan ed Daula about 200 years ago with the title *MA'ATHIR AL-UMARA* and a later biographical dictionary was published in 1894. But both of these are incomplete and very imperfect, as too wide a variety of persons are included.

Great enterprises like these can only be carried out if they are generously subsidised by the Government. One may suppose that the Government of the greatest Islamic state will be prepared to foster all serious work devoted to Islamic History and Culture. Perhaps the ideas put forward could best be promoted within some larger framework than exist at present.

Very valuable work has been done for more than seventy years by the Dairat al Ma'arif at Hyderabad, generously subsidised by the Nizam. But it is imperative that the texts printed there should be produced in closer conformity to Western standards of editing. It should always be stated what are the manuscript sources on which the texts edited are

based and who is the editor responsible for the text given. It is furthermore essential to avoid the kind of mistakes to be found in the printed edition of a very difficult text like that of Biruni's book on precious stones which render it unusable unless one has photographs of the manuscripts with which to compare it.

I think it would also be advisable to bring out reliable editions of texts published in the west which are now practically unobtainable. You asked me recently to procure for you a copy of the TABAKAT of Ibn-Sa'd published in 9 volumes at Leiden under the editorship of Eduard Sachau. The book is completely out of print, and the publisher could only offer me the possibility of a copy in the near future which would cost about £120. Many other texts of even greater importance are equally unobtainable. What great benefit would accrue from trustworthy editions of such texts !

It is very requisite for Muslim scholarship in Pakistan that there should be a number of libraries in the country fully equipped with all the books needed for Islamic studies, including the great series of periodicals on Islam or at least those which have come out during the last fifty years. Books which are unobtainable should be acquired in photographic reproduction. Moreover, individual books could be translated into English to enable them to be read by wider circles in this country. The four or five volumes of the Encyclopaedia of Islam are already being translated into Urdu for the benefit of the general students. But students who intend to do research work have no alternative but to learn European languages for it is necessary that they should be able to read at any rate those periodicals on Islam which are published in English, French, German and other languages.

It has been a very exhilarating experience for me to see how anxious and enthusiastic you are to acquire the material you need for scholarly work and what a high standard of scholarship you have been able to maintain in the publications, particularly the Journal of your society. Evidently learned bodies like the Pakistan Historical Society

cannot thrive and fulfil their mission without substantial aid, financial and otherwise, from the Government. Princely patronage in the days of monarchy and State encouragement in our times have ever been an important factor in the growth of learning. I sincerely wish that your Society may be helped in every possible way by a far-sighted Government.

خطبہ، صدارت

از

ڈاکٹر امیر حسن صدیقی

صدر شعبہ، تاریخ اسلام - کراچی یونیورسٹی

خواتین و حضرات!

میں آل پاکستان ہسٹری بورڈ کے ممبران کا تھے دل سے
سمنون ہوں کہ انہوں نے اس کانفرنس کے شعبہ، تاریخ اسلام کی
صدارت کے لئے میرا انتخاب کر کے مجھے ایک نمایاں اعزاز بخشنا
ہے۔ اس اعزاز کی اہمیت اور میری ممنونیت کا احساس اور بھی
بڑھ جاتا ہے جب میں یہ سوچتا ہوں کہ میں نے گذشتہ بیس سال
میں اسلامی تاریخ کی جو ناقیز خدمات انجام دی ہیں، یہ اعزاز
آن خدمات کا نہایت فیاضانہ اعتراف ہے۔

ہمارے اکابر فضلا نے تاریخ کی تعریف اس طرح کی ہے کہ
گذشتہ زمانوں میں بڑے بڑے واقعات ظہور پذیر ہوئے اور مختلف
قوموں اور سلطنتوں کو عروج و زوال کے جن مرحلوں سے گذرنا
پڑا آن کی تمام تفصیلات کو اس شرط کے ساتھ جاننا کہ وہ واقعات
کس وقت ظہور میں آئے اور کن اسباب کے نتائج تھے علم تاریخ
کہلاتا ہے۔ دنیا کے بڑے بڑے ارضی و سماوی حوادث بھی تاریخ
کے ضمن میں آجاتے ہیں۔ اور مقصود اس علم کا یہ ہے کہ مختلف
قوموں، ملکوں اور سلطنتوں کے حالات جان کر انسان آن سے عبرت

حاصل کرے اور خود اپنے لئے راہ عمل متعین کرسکے کہ کن حالات میں آسے کس قسم کے اقدامات کرنے چاہئیں کن امور سے اجتناب کرنا واجب ہے۔ دنیا کے بڑے سے بڑے دانش مندوں کے بہترین تجربات کا نجوڑ ہمیں تاریخ میں مل جاتا ہے۔

(اس میں شک نہیں کہ انسانی زندگی میں برابر تغیرات ہوتے رہتے ہیں لیکن انسان کے بیادی جذبات اور بنیادی ضروریات قریباً جوں کی توں چلی آتی ہیں۔ اس بنا پر تاریخ کا وسیع مطالعہ زندگی کے مشکل سے مشکل انفرادی اور اجتماعی مسائل حل کرنے میں ہمارا بہترین رہنمای ثابت ہوتا ہے)۔

یہ صحیح ہے کہ اسلام سے پہلے یونانیوں، رومیوں اور چینیوں نے بھی تاریخ کی چند کتابیں لکھیں لیکن اول تو ان کی تعداد نہایت مختصر ہے اس کے علاوہ معتبر اور مستند ہونے کے اعتبار سے بھی اہمیت نہیں رکھتیں۔ ان مصنفوں کے مامنے نہ تو کوئی ایسا نمونہ موجود تھا جسے وہ اپنا رہنمای بناتے نہ انہوں نے واقعات کی عقلی تنقید کی نہ اپنے ذاتی اور مذہبی تعصبات سے بلند ہو کر واقعات کو قلم بند کیا۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ ہر قسم کی بیانیں، خلاف عقل اور ناقابل تسلیم روایات نسلانہ بعد نسلانہ منتقل ہوتی چلی آئیں۔ اس کے مقابل میں اسلامی تاریخ کے آغاز سے پہلے قرآن اور حدیث کی تدوین ہو چکی تھی۔ قرآن کریم تھوڑا تھوڑا کر کے سال کے طوبیل عرصہ میں نازل ہوا۔ آسے اصلی حالت میں محفوظ رکھنے کے لئے یہ احتیام کیا گیا کہ وقتاً فوقتاً جو اجزا نازل ہوتے گئے آنھیں ایک طرف تو قلم بند کر لیا گیا اور دوسری طرف سیکڑوں اشخاص نے اسے حفظ کر لیا، آن حضرت کے وصال کے تھوڑے ہی دنوں بعد جب اس کی تدوین کی نوبت آئی تو ایک ایک حرفاً کسی تغیر و تبدل کے بغیر اس طرح پہکجا کر دیا گیا کہ آج ساڑھے تیرہ سو برس گذرنے کے بعد بھی اس میں ذرہ برابر فرق نہیں آیا (اور اسلام کا بڑے سے بڑا

دشمن بھی قرآن میں تحریف کا قائل نہیں ' حالانکہ دوسرے آسمانی صحیفے امتداد ایام سے مسیح ہوتے ہوتے کچھ کے کچھ ہو کرو رہ گئے) ۔

چونکہ مسلمانوں کی نظر میں آنحضرت کی زندگی آسوہ حسنہ کی حیثیت رکھتی تھی اس لئے آپ کی وفات کے بعد مسلمانوں نے یہ ضروری سمجھنا کہ آپ کی زندگی کے جملہ واقعات قلم بند کر لئے جائیں تاکہ زندگی کے ہر شعبیر میں رسول ص کا قول و عمل ان کی رہنمائی کرو سکے ۔ (یہ حقیقت ہے کہ جس طرح حضور اکرم کی زندگی کے جملہ واقعات اور ان کی تمام تفصیلات کو مسلمانوں نے انتہائی احتیاط اور صحت کے ساتھ محفوظ رکھیا ہے ، اس طرح دنیا کے کسی دوسرے شخص کے حالات زندگی کو سپرد قلم نہیں کیا کیا) ۔

چونکہ پیغمبر کے کسی قول کو یا ان کے متعلق کسی واقعہ کو غلط نقل کرنا مسلمانوں کی نظر میں کnah عظیم تھا اس لئے انہوں نے اس بات کی انتہائی کوشش کی کہ اس باب میں جو کچھ لکھا جائے وہ ہر طرح مستند ہو چنانچہ جب تک وہ اس امر کا اطمینان نہ کر لیتے کہ راوی اپنے اخلاق و کردار کے لحاظ سے تھے اور معتبر ہے وہ اس کے قول کو مستند نہیں سمجھتے تھے اور جب تک کسی روایت کا سلسلہ ابتداء سے انتہا تک تھے اور معتبر راویوں پر مشتمل نہ ہوتا وہ قابل قبول نہ ٹھرتی ۔

مسلمان مورخوں نے جس وقت تاریخ لکھنی شروع کی تو یہی نمونہ آن کے پیش نظر تھا ۔ جب تک وہ کسی روایت کو اچھی طرح درایت کی کسوٹی پر کس کر دیکھ نہ لیتے مطمئن نہ ہوتے اور جب انہیں کسی بیان کی صداقت میں شبہ ہوتا تو اس کوئی واقعہ مختلف روایتوں کے ساتھ ان تک پہنچا ہوتا تو یہ کم و کاست ان تمام صورتوں کو بیان کر دیتے ۔ انہوں نے عصر حاضر کے مورخوں کی طرح ذاتی ، قومی ، مذہبی یا ملکی مصلحتوں پر

صداقت کو قربان نہیں کیا۔ (چنانچہ مسلمانوں کے عروج و زوال کی پوری داستان آغاز اسلام سے لے کر خلافت کے خاتمے تک پوری تفصیل اور کمال صحت کے ساتھ تاریخ کے اوراق میں محفوظ ہے)۔

عرب مورخین کے بعد بدّ قسمتی سے اسلامی تاریخ کے ساتھ دو گونہ ظلم ہوا ہے (ایک اپنوں کے ہاتھوں اور دوسرا بیگانوں کے ہاتھوں) یوروپ کے عیسائی مستشرقین نے اسلام کی جو تاریخیں لکھیں ان میں انہوں نے اپنے مذہبی تعصّب کے جوش میں واقعات کو کچھ اس طرح توزُّع مروز کر پیش کیا کہ حقیقت مسخ ہو کر رہ گئی (یہ تو آن کی ارادی کوشش کا نتیجہ تھا) اس کے علاوہ (غیرشعوری اور غیرارادی طور پر بھی آن کے ہاتھوں اسلامی تاریخ کو بہت تقصیان پہنچا) کیونکہ ان میں اکثر و بیشتر عربی زبان کے جانبی فالیے تو تھے لیکن فن تاریخ کے ماہر نہ تھے اور یہ بات آن مسلمان مورخین پر بھی صادق آتی ہے جنہوں نے زمانہ حال میں اسلام کی تاریخیں لکھی ہیں (بلائیب عربی زبان آنہیں اچھی طرح آتی تھی مگر فن تاریخ سے وہ بھی نابلد تھے لہذا واقعات سے نتائج نکالنے میں ان سے بھی جابجا غلطی ہوتی ہے۔

ان حالات میں ضرورت اس امر کی ہے کہ اسلامی تاریخ کو اپنی زبان میں لکھنے کے لئے مورخین کی ایک ایسی جماعت تیار کی جائے جو عربی اور فارسی زبانوں پر اچھی طرح دسترس رکھنے کے ساتھ ساتھ فن تاریخ میں بھی کامل دستگاہ رکھتی ہو، تاریخی واقعات کو ناقدانہ جرج و تتعديل کے بعد اس طرح پیش کر سکے کہ حقیقت آئندہ ہو جائے۔

اب ہمیں یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ دور حاضر میں اسلامی تاریخ مسلمانوں کی رہنمائی کس طرح کر سکتی ہے؟ (اور آج جب کہ ایک نئی اسلامی حکومت یعنی پاکستان کا دستور اساسی بن رہا ہے ہم اسلامی تاریخ سے کیا سبق حاصل کر سکتے ہیں؟)۔

یہ ایک مسلم حقیقت ہے کہ خلفائے راشدین نے جو اسلامی ریاست یعنی خلافت راشدہ قائم کی تھی وہ ایک مثالی ریاست تھی اور وہ آج بھی ہمارے لئے ایک بے نظیر نمونے کی حیثیت رکھتی ہے اور ہم اس سے استفادہ کر سکتے ہیں ۔

اس میں شک نہیں کہ خلفائے راشدین جو اس ریاست کے بانی تھے اعلیٰ انسانی صفات کے مالک تھے لیکن انہیں پیغمبرانہ یا معجزانہ طاقتیں حاصل نہیں تھیں کہ آج کا مسلمان آن کے نقش قدم پر نہ چل سکے ۔ پھر ریاست جزیرہ نمائے عرب تک محدود نہ تھی بلکہ اس نے کتنے ہی مختلف ممالک کو اپنے دامن میں سمیٹ لیا تھا جہاں لوگوں کی زبانیں مختلف تھیں ۔ رنگ روپ مختلف تھے، تہذیب و تمدن مختلف تھے، بلکہ سچ پوچھئے تو اسلام کے مساوا اور کوئی چیز ان کے درمیان مشترک نہ تھی اس لئے ضروری ہے کہ ہم اس ریاست یعنی خلافت راشدہ کے خصائص کا جائزہ لیں اور سمجھنے کی کوشش کریں کہ آخر آج ہم ویسی مثالی ریاست کیوں قائم نہیں کر سکتے ۔

خلافت راشدہ میں حکومت کا ذکر

جهان تک حکومت کے تصور کا تعلق ہے خلافت راشدہ دنیا کی ہر ریاست سے بنیادی طور پر مختلف تھی ۔ جس دن سے دنیا میں حکومت کا آغاز ہوا لامحدود حکمرانی طاقت انسانوں کے قبضہ، اقتدار میں رہی اور بہت سے حقوق صرف حکمران کے لئے مخصوص ہو کر رہ گئی اور عامہ "الناس" ان سے محروم کردئی گئی (یہ تقیسم کسی طرح بھی منصفانہ نہیں کہی جاسکتی) ۔

حکومت کے لامحدود اختیارات انسانوں کے ہاتھ میں آجائے کا لازمی نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ آج دنیا کی کسی بدترین ریاست میں بھی حقیقی مساوات، آزادی، اخوت اور انصاف کا نشان نہیں ملتا بظاہر یہ بات بہت عجیب معلوم ہوتی ہے مگر حقیقت یہی ہے ۔ ۲

اس سے انکار نہیں کہ حدید ریاستوں میں عامہ آنس کے بعائدے ہی قابوں ساتھ ہے لیکن اس کے باوجود وہ قابوں کجھے اس طرح وصم کئے جاتے ہے کہ آن کی بدولت ایک حاصل پارٹی نا حاصل طبقہ تو فائڈے میں رہتا ہے اور ناقی عامہ آنس کی حق تلفی ہوتی ہے (نا پہر آن قواں میں کچھے اس طرح کی حامیاں رہ جاتی ہیں کہ محلہ جماعتیں اپنے معاد کی حاطر انہیں محتف معنی پہما دتی ہیں اور توڑ مروڑ کر اس حوبصوتی سے آن کی تاویل کی جاتی ہے کہ حکمران طبقہ اپنی میانی کر لتا ہے اور قابوں کی رو سے اسے حائز ٹھہراتا ہے) اس کے برعکس اسلامی ریاست میں حکومت صرف حدا کی ہے۔ لیکن اس کے نہ معنی نہیں کہ اسلامی ریاست کے حملہ قواں کا واضح خود حدا ہے نہ کہ قرآن میں ہر کلی اور حرثی امر کے متعلق احکام اور قواں موجود ہیں لوگوں کو امور ریاست کے متعلق اب کچھے نہیں کرنا ہے۔

اسلامی ریاست میں حوالہ واضح کئے جاتے ہیں وہ بلا شہ ارباب علم و نصل کے وکر و تدبیر کا نتیجہ ہوتے ہیں لیکن وہ قرآن کریم کے نائے ہوئے سادی اصولوں کو پشن بطر و کچھے کر نائے جاتے ہیں، اس طرح اسلامی ریاست میں لوگوں کو وصم ہوالہ کے حوالہ احتیارات حاصل ہوتے ہیں وہ حرثی اور محدود ہوتے ہیں۔ لوگ اسما کوئی قابوں نہیں نہ سکتے ہو صریح طور پر احکام قرآنی کے حلاں ہو۔ اس کے نہ معنی ہوئے کہ درحققت لوگ خود واضح قواں نہیں اور اس صورت میں وہ خود بھی قابوں کی گرفت سے ناہر نہیں ہو سکتے اور نہ وہ خود اپنے لئے نا اپنی جماعت کے لئے کسی مخصوص حقوق یا رعائتوں کا مطالہ کر سکتے ہیں (دراعصی وہ قابوں سارے نہیں بلکہ قابوں الہی کو ناحد کر دے والے ہیں اور اس نامے میں ان کی وہی حشت ہے حوالہ دوسرے عام شہریوں کی ہے)۔

اسلامی ریاست میں قانون کے اہم مأخذ تین ہیں - قرآن، حدیث اور اجتہاد۔ اگر کسی امر کے مطابق قرآن و حدیث میں کوئی حکم یا قانون نہ ملے تو پھر انسان کو اپنی فکر سلیم سے کام لینا چاہیئے۔ اسی کا نام اجتہاد ہے۔ خود آنحضرت نے ایسے حالات میں اجتہاد کو درست قرار دیا ہے۔ خلفائے راشدین میں سے کسی نے بھی اجتہاد کے کل اختیارات اپنے ہاتھ میں نہیں رکھے تھے بلکہ اس کام کے لئے ایک جلس آئین ساز (لیجس لیٹو کونسل) مقرر تھی۔ جو اہم مسئلہ اس کونسل کے سامنے پیش کیا جاتا تھا ارکان مجلس قرآن و حدیث کی روشنی میں اس مسئلہ پر رائے زنی کرتے تھے اور خلیفہ وقت ان لوگوں سے مشورہ کرنے کے بعد زیربحث امر کا فیصلہ کرتا تھا۔ چونکہ اسلامی ریاست میں احکام شریعت کے مطابق حکومت کے اختیارات محدود ہیں اور اصول شریعت آفاقی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں اس لئے قدرتی طور پر اسلامی ریاست کی پہلی خصوصیت مساوات قرار پائی ہے جس کے یہ معنی ہیں کہ ہر شخص کے لئے ترقی کے یکسان موقع مہبیا کئے جائیں اور رنگ، نسل، نسبت، ذات اور فرقہ کی بنا پر کسی کو کوئی امتیاز حاصل نہ ہو۔ چنانچہ اسلامی ریاست میں ہر اہم سرکاری منصب کے لئے انسان کی ذاتی استعداد، کردار اور اسلام دوستی کو پیش نظر رکھا جاتا تھا۔

اسلامی ریاست کی دوسری خصوصیت آزادی ہے۔ ہر مسلمان آزاد ہے کیونکہ احکام الہی کے سوا وہ اور کسی کا حکم ماننے پر مجبور نہیں۔ دوسرے لفظوں میں اس کے یہ معنی ہوئے کہ اس کی آزادی شریعت کی مقرر کردہ حدود کے اندر محدود ہے۔ کوئی شخص کسی دوسرے کے حقوق پر دست اندازی نہیں کر سکتا (مگر ساتھ ہی وہ خود اپنے حقوق کے اندر کامل طور پر آزاد ہے) ریاست کا ایک ادنیٰ شہری بڑے سے بڑے حاکم پر نکتہ چینی کر سکتا ہے اور اس سے جواب طلب کر سکتا ہے لیکن آزادی کے نام پر کامل مطلق العنوانی کا حق کسی کو حاصل

نہیں کہ ایک شخص دوسرے کو قضیحت کر سکے یا حکومت کی تضییک کر سکے ۔

اسلامی ریاست کی تیسرا خصوصیت آخوت ہے ۔ انما اعومنون آخوت ، تمام مسلمان آپس میں بھائی بھائی ہیں اور یہ اسلامی آخوت کا وštہ اتنا قوی ہے کہ اس کے مقابلے میں خون کا وشتہ بھی کوئی حقیقت نہیں رکھتا ۔ آقا اور غلام ، گورے اور کالے اسیر اور غریب ، عرب اور عجم سب کے سب اسلامی آخوت کی نظر میں ہم رتبہ ہیں ۔

اسلامی ریاست کی چوتھی خصوصیت انصاف ہے اور یہ انصاف کسی امتیاز کے بغیر ہر چھوٹے بڑے کے ساتھ یکسان طور پر برنا جاتا ہے بلکہ انصاف کے معاملے میں سلم اور کافر کے درمیان بھی تمیز نہیں کی جاتی ۔ اسلامی قانون میں اس کی اجازت نہیں کہ موجودہ دستور کے مطابق بڑے لوگوں کی شہادت کمیشن کے ذریعے قلم بند کر لی جائے ۔ اسلامی عدالت میں بڑے سے بڑے شخص کو بھی کسی رعایت کا مستحق نہیں سمجھا جاتا ۔ قاضی جو قانون الہی کا نفاذ کرتے ہیں وہ اپنے تین خدا کے حضور میں جواب دے سمجھتے ہیں اس لئے وہ ہر شخص کے ساتھ بلا رو رعایت قانون کے مطابق پورا پورا انصاف کرتے ہیں ۔

اسلامی ریاست کا مذہبی پہلو

چونکہ اسلامی ریاست کے تمام بنیادی قوانین احکام قرآنی ہر مبنی ہیں اور مسلمانوں کی نظر میں وہ آسمانی صحیحہ اور خدا کی کتاب ہے اس بنا پر بعض لوگ اسلامی ریاست کو مذہبی حکومت کہتے ہیں لیکن در حقیقت اسلامی ریاست اسی معنی میں مذہبی حکومت نہیں جس معنی میں قرون وسطیٰ کی عیسائی ریاست مذہبی حکومت تھی ۔ عیسائیوں کی مذہبی حکومت میں تو مذہبی بیشواؤں نے قانون سازی کے جملہ اختیارات اپنے

ہاتھ میں لے رکھئے تھے اور اس طرح آن کی ذات قانون سے بالآخر تھی۔ ظاہر ہے کہ یہ اصول، آئین انصاف کے صریح خلاف تھا کیونکہ اس میں ایک طبقے کو دوسرے طبقے پر برتری حاصل تھی جو اصول مساوات کے سراسر منافی ہے۔

اسلامی ریاست کو دنیوی حکومت اس اعتبار سے کہا، سکتے ہیں کہ اس میں اخروی اور روحانی امور کے ساتھ ساتھ انسان کے مادی اور معاشرتی امور کا بھی سر انجام کیا جاتا ہے۔ عصر حاضر میں دنیوی حکومت کا مفہوم یہ ہے کہ امور حکومت کے سر انجام میں مذہب کو کسی قسم کا کوئی دخل نہ ہو اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ یہ نظام اخلاقی روح سے محروم ہو گیا اور اس کے قوانین اخلاقی نقطہ نظر سے انسان کے افعال و اعمال سے کوئی تعارض نہیں کرتے۔

اسلامی ریاست کے مذکورہ بالا دونوں پہلوؤں کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے یہ کہنا بیجا نہیں کہ وہ بہ یک وقت مذہبی بھی ہے اور دنیوی بھی اور چونکہ اس کے تمام قوانین کتاب اللہ سے ماخوذ ہیں اس لئے اس کے مذہبی اور دنیوی پہلوؤں کو ایک دوسرے سے جدا نہیں کیا جاسکتا لیکن اس حقیقت کا اعتقاد ضروری ہے کہ اسلامی ریاست میں مذہب کا مذہب لازمی طور پر اسلام ہونا چاہئے کیونکہ اسلام ہی کی حفاظت اور بقاء کے لئے یہ ریاست وجود میں آئی ہے۔

اسلامی ریاست کی بنیاد باہمی معاہدے پر ہے

اسلامی ریاست مسلمانوں کے ہاتھ میں خدا کی امانت ہے جس شخص کو ریاست کا امیر منتخب کیا جاتا ہے عامۃ المسلمین نظام حکومت کو چلانے کے لئے اس کے ہاتھ پر بیعت کرتے ہیں۔ بیعت ایک مقدس اور مستحب کم معاہدہ ہے جس کے یہ معنی ہیں کہ ایک طرف تو بیعت کرنے والا امیر المؤمنین کے ساتھ تعاون کریگا اور وفادار رہے گا اور دوسری طرف بیعت لینے والا یعنی خلیفہ قرآن و

حدیث کے احکام کے مطابق ریاست کے امور کا سر انجام کرے گا اور اگر خلیفہ اس معاہدے کی خلاف ورزی کرے تو بیعت فسخ ہو جائے گی اور لوگوں کو حق دو گا کہ وہ خلیفہ سے بھر جائیں اور اسے معزول کر دیں (لیکن جس وقت تک وہ اس معاہدے کے مطابق امور خلافت کا سر انجام کرتا رہے اس وقت تک لوگوں پر اس کی اطاعت فرض ہے اور اسے کامل اختیار حاصل ہے کہ وہ لوگوں پر احکام شربعت کا نفاذ کرے)۔

احکام قرآنی کے مطابق ریاست کا امیر یعنی خلیفہ صرف مسلمان ہی ہو سکتا ہے۔ خلافت راشدہ کے دوران میں ابک خلیفہ کے بعد دوسرے کو اس کا جانشین منتخب کرنے کے سلسلے میں جو جو مختلف طریقے اختیار کئے گئے ان سب میں انتخاب کا اصول کارفراہما رہا ہے۔ حضرت عمر نے اپنے لائق فرزند کے متعلق بہ حکم صادر فرمایا کہ وہ منصب خلافت کے لئے امبدوار نہیں ہو سکتے جانشین کے موروثی حق کو ہمیشہ ہمیشہ کے لئے ختم کر دیا۔ چونکہ اسلامی ریاست ایک مثالی حکومت ہے اس لئے لازم ہوا کہ اس کے انتظام کی باگ بہترین شخص یا اشخاص کے ہاتھ میں ہو۔ امام ماوردی کی رائے ہے کہ ہوری آبادی کو دو طبقوں میں بانٹ دبا جائے۔ ایک وہ طبقہ جس میں سے خلیفہ یا واضعان قانون کا انتخاب کیا جائے اور دوسرا وہ جو خلیفہ کا انتخاب کرے۔

اسلامی ریاست میں ووٹر کو لازمی پر طور آزاد، سمجھدار اور تعلیم یافتہ ہونا چاہئے اس لئے اگر رائے دہندگی کے حق کو وسیع کیا جائے تو پہلے مذکورہ بالا شرائط کا موجود ہونا ضروری ہے۔ بہر حال اسلامی ریاست میں ناخواندہ لوگوں کے لئے بھی الیکشن میں حصہ لینا منوع نہ تھا کیونکہ ہر بالغ پر خلیفہ کی بیعت کرنا فرض تھا۔)

چونکہ خلافت، منتخب کئے ہوئے خلیفہ کے ہاتھ میں ایک امانت کی حیثیت رکھتی تھی اس لئے خلیفہ عامته الناس کا آقا نہ تھا بلکہ اس کی حیثیت ایک پوئے وقت کے ملازم کی سی تھی جس کا کام یہ تھا کہ وہ لوگوں کی، بہبود کے لئے احکام شریعت کے مطابق ریاست کے امور کا سر انجام کرے۔ وہ اپنا ذرا سا وقت بھی اپنے ذاتی کاموں میں خرچ کرنے کا مجاز نہ تھا لیکن اسے اپنے گزارے کے لئے کونسل کے فیصلے کے مطابق صرف اتنا وظیفہ ملتا تھا کہ وہ اس کی اور اسکے بال بچوں کی ضروریات کے لئے کافی ہو سکے۔

مجلس شوریٰ

امور خلافت کا سر انجام احکام قرآنی کے مطابق باہمی مشورہ سے ہوتا تھا اس مقصد کے لئے ایک مجلس شوریٰ مقرر تھی اور آنحضرت کے جملہ مقتدر صحابہ اس کے ممبر تھے (خلیفہ اس مجلس کو مقرر کرتا تھا اور آنحضرت کے صحابہ میں جو لوگ اپنے زهد و تقویٰ اور فہمیٰ و فراست کی بنا پر سماتر سمجھے جاتے تھے وہ اس مجلس کے رکن مقرر کئے جاتے تھے۔ شریعت سے پوری واقفیت اسلام کی خدمت اور ذاتی کردار یہ تین چیزیں اس تقرر کے لئے صلاحیت کا معیار سمجھی جاتی تھیں) مجلس شوریٰ کے بعض ارکان مختلف میکمتوں (portfolios) کے انچارج تھے۔ قانون سازی نیز انتظام ریاست کے جملہ مسائل مجلس شوریٰ کے سامنے پیش کئے جاتے تھے اور اچھی طرح بحث مباحثے کے بعد طے پاتے تھے۔ مجلس شوریٰ کے فیصلے عام طور پر جملہ ارکان کے اتفاق رائے سے ہوتے تھے اور اس کے لئے پوری مجلس اپنے تینیں ذمہ دار سمجھتی تھیں۔

خلافت اور افراد

چونکہ خلافت مذہبی اور دنیوی ہر قسم کے امور کے سرانجام کے لئے وجود میں آئی تھی اور ایک معاہدے پر بنی تھی

جس کی روست افراد اپنے بعض حقوق سے دست بردار ہو کر بعض فرائض اپنے ذمے لے لیتے تھے اس بنا پر خلافت گویا ایک نظام تھی جس کی غرض و غایت صرف اتنی تھی کہ خود افراد کے مقاصد کا سرانجام کرسکے لہذا خلافت اور افراد کے درمیان ایسی کوئی شے موجود نہ تھی جو وجہ اختلاف بن سکے ۔

اسلامی طرز حکومت کے مطابق، ریاست، خلیفہ اور ملت سب کے پیش نظر ایک بلند اخلاقی نصب العین تھا اور اس کا حصول ہر شخص کا فرض تھا ۔ اس نظام حکومت میں نہ تو کسی کی شخصی آزادی فنا ہوتی تھی نہ سیامی اقتدار اور حکومت کی طاقت کسی ایک شخص کے ہاتھ میں رہتی تھی ۔ اس ریاست میں ہر مسلمان نصب العین کے حصول کی خاطر اپنی جان تک قربان کر دینے کا پہلے ہی عہد و پیمان کر چکا ہوتا تھا اس بنا پر ہر مسلمان کے لئے فوجی خدمت لازمی قرار دی گئی تھی اور بڑے سے بڑے شخص کو اپنی امن سے مشتمل نہیں کیا جاسکتا تھا ۔ مسلمانوں کو زراعت کا پیشہ اختیار کرنے کی اجازت نہ تویی کیونکہ مبادا وہ زمین ہی سے وابستہ ہو کر نہ رہ جائیں ۔ ان کی حیثیت ایک مجاهد کی تھی جس کا کام بھی ہے کہ وہ ہمیشہ خدا کی راہ میں جنگ کرے اور ہروقت ترک وطن کے لئے تیار رہے کیونکہ نہ معلوم کس وقت کہاں جانا پڑ جائے ۔ ان خدمات کے صلیع میں ہر مسلمان سپاہی اور اس کے مال پیچوں کے گزارے کا معقول بند و بست حکومت کے ذمے تھا جو بیت العمال سے کیا جاتا تھا ۔

مرکزیت

خلافت راشدہ کی ایک اور خصوصیت انتظامی امور میں اس کی مرکزیت تھی ۔ یہ ریاست جس کی بنیاد قرآنی اصولوں پر قائم تھی اس کی نوعیت ہی کچھ ایسی تھی کہ اس کے انتظامی امور میں بکسانی ضروری تھی ۔ خلیفہ کو اختیار کلی حاصل تھا ۔

کونسل کے مشورے سے وہی حبوبوں کے گورنر فوجیوں کے مہم مالاروں قاضی اور حکومت کے دوسرے عہدہ داروں کا تقرر نہ تھا تھا - آدمی شخص کو کسی صوبے کا گورنر مقرر کرتے وقت خلیفہ وہاں کے لوگوں کی خواہشات کو بھی مدد نظر رکھتا تھا یہ گورنر تبدیل بھی کئے جاسکتے تھے اور معزول بھی (شہر گورنر کو تقرر کا پروانہ ملتا تھا جس میں آمن کی ملازمت کی جملہ شرائط مندرج ہیقی قبیلے - گورنر کے لئے ضروری تھا کہ وہ اپنے عہدے کا چارج لیتے وقت صوبے کے دارالحکومت کی صدر مسجد میں اپنے تقرر کا پروانہ پڑھ کر لوگوں کو منادے - ای لوگوں کیوں یہ حق حاصل تھا کہ اگر گورنر کسی وقت آن شرائط کی خلاف ورزی کرنے تو وہ خلیفہ کے پاس اسکی شکایت لکھنے پہنچیں - شکایت وصول ہونے کے بعد خلیفہ تحقیقات کرتا تھا اور گورنر پر لکھنے ہوئے الزام اگر صحیح ثابت ہوتے تو خلیفہ آسے معزول کر دیتا) گورنروں کو بیماری تھی خواہیں ملتی تھیں تاکہ وہ کسی قسم کے لائچ میں نہ پہنسکیں (گورنر کے تقرر کے وقت اس کی ایمانداری کے متعلق اطمینان حاصل کرنے کے لئے خلیفہ اس کی دولت کا تخیلینہ کر لیتا تھا اور اگر کبھی کسی گورنر کی دولت میں غیر معمولی اشافہ نظر آتا تو از مر نو اس کا تخیلینہ کیا جاتا اور زائد مال بیت المال میں داخل کر دیا جاتا - گورنروں کو یہ حکم تھا کہ وہ سادگی اور تقویٰ کی زندگی بسر کریں - اگر کوئی گورنر عیش و عشرت میں پڑ جاتا اور اپنے دروازے پر پہرہدار مقرر کر دیتا جس کی وجہ سے اہل حاجت اس تک نہ پہنچ سکتے تو آسے مجمع عام میں سزادی جاتی تھی -

خلافت کا اقتصادی نظام بھی بعض آیات اور قطبی احکام قرآنی پر مبنی تھا قرآن پاک (۵۹) میں ارشاد باری ہے کہ دولت کا لوٹ پھیر صرف امیروں ہی کے درمیان نہیں ہونا چاہئے - اور اس مقصد کے لئے کہ دولت ہر طبقے کے مسلمانوں کے درمیان تقسیم

ہوسکے اسلام نے کئی باتوں پر زور دیا۔ اول زکواۃ کو واجب قرار دیا۔ زکواۃ ایک ٹیکس ہے جو ڈھائی فیصدی کے حساب سے آس مال اور ملک پر واجب ہوتا ہے جو سال کے خاتمے پر مصارف کے بعد بچ رہے۔ یہ ٹیکس انہیں شرائط کے ساتھ تجارتی سرمایہ پر بھی واجب ہے زکواۃ کے علاوہ وصیت نامہ کے اختیارات کم کثیر۔ وراثت کا قانون بنایا۔ اور سود کو ناجائز ٹھرا یا۔

خلافت طبقاتی جنگ کی قائل نہ تھی، نہ اس نے مکمل طور پر بیداوار اور تقسیم کے وسائل کو عوام الناس کے ہاتھ میں دیا۔ افراد کو شخصی ملکیت رکھنے کی اجازت دی تاکہ کام کرنے کی ترغیب و تحریک باقی رہے لیکن ساتھ ہی ساتھ اس نے اس امر کا بھی انتظام کیا کہ دولت صرف چند آدمیوں ہی کے ہاس جمع نہ ہونے پائے تاکہ سرمایہداری ایک مستقل صورت اختیار نہ کرے اس طرح خلافت راشدہ کے زمانے میں اتصادی نظام دور حاضر کے دو متضاد نظاموں بعنی سرمایہ داری اور اشتراکیت کے بین بین تھا۔

اسلامی ریاست کے مقاصد

قرآن کے الفاظ میں قیام خلافت کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ لوگ نماز کی پابندی کریں۔ زکراۃ دین، اچھے کام کریں اور برائیوں سے بچیں۔ قرآن پاک میں ایک اور مقام پر مسلمانوں کو خیرالامم کہا گیا ہے جنہیں دنیا میں اس لئے بھیجا گیا ہے کہ وہ لوگوں کو عمل خیر پر آمادہ کریں اور برائیوں سے باز رکھیں (پہلی آیت کے بھلے حصے میں مسلمانوں کے فرائض کا ذکر ہے یعنی انہیں ہر روز مسجد میں جمع ہو کر پانچوں وقت کی نماز ادا کرنی چاہئے اور (اس نماز یا جماعت کی پابندی اور ادائی زکواۃ میں نکتہ یہ ہے کہ وہ مساوات، آزادی، آنکھوت اور اطاعت امام کا سبق سیکھیں اور اپنے مال کا کچھ حصہ اس مقصد کے لئے دین کے مذکورہ اصول پر ویاست قائم ہوسکے۔ دوسری

آیت میں مسلمانوں کو خیر الاسم کہا گیا ہے یعنی دنیا کے بہترین لوگ - ظاہر ہے کہ بہترین لوگ غلط راستے پر نہیں چل سکتے ان صریح احکام نے خلیفہ پر نیز عامہ "الناس پر زبردست ذمہداریاں عاید کر دیں اور خلافت کا فرض ہو گیا کہ نہ صرف اپنے ملک کے اندر بلکہ ضرورت آپڑے تو اپنے ملک کے باہر بھی ان احکام کی پابندی کرائے۔ اس مثالی حکم کی پابندی کے باعث مسلمانوں کو بعض اوقات دوسری قوموں کے خلاف جہاد کرنا پڑا لیکن یہ بات یاد رکھنے کی ہے کہ مسلمانوں نے ذاتی مفاد یا قومی سر بلندی کی آرزو میں کبھی جہاد نہیں کیا بلکہ جہاد کا مقصد ہمیشہ یہی رہا کہ زمین پر خدا کی حکومت قائم کی جائے اور انسان کو انسان کی معاشی، روحانی اور مادی غلامی سے نجات دلائی جائے۔

خلافت اور غیر مسلم لوگ

اسلامی ریاست کا یہ جائزہ ناتمام رہے گا اگر یہ نہ بتا دیا جائے کہ اسلامی ریاست میں غیر مسلموں کے ساتھ کیا سلوک کیا جاتا تھا اور ان کی حالت کیا تھی - چونکہ خلافت ایک مثالی حکومت تھی اس لئے امور خلافت کا سرانجام صرف انہیں لوگوں کے سپرد کیا جاسکتا تھا جو اس کے نصب العین کی صداقت پر کامل یقین رکھتے تھے - وہ لوگ صرف مسلمان ہی تھے جنہوں نے قیام خلافت کے لئے ہر قسم کی قربانیاں کی تھیں اور حکومت کے چلانے کی تمام ذمہداریاں اپنے سر لی تھیں - غیر مسلموں کا اس میں کوئی حصہ نہ تھا البتہ وہ ذمی کی حیثیت سے مسلمانوں کی ریاست میں امن و عافیت کے ساتھ رہ سکتے تھے ان حالات میں مسلموں اور غیر مسلموں کے حقوق و فرائض قدرتاً ایک دوسرے سے بنیادی طور پر مختلف تھے - بہر صورت خلافت اپنی غیر مسلم رعایا کو اپنا ہی سمجھتی تھی - چنانچہ غیر مسلموں کو مذہب اور ضمیر کی پوری پوری آزادی حاصل تھی اور حکومت ان کی جان، مال

اور آرزو کی حفاظت کی دمہدار تھی۔ نہ صرف اس قدر بلکہ آنسوں اپنی تهدید اور روایات کو ترقی دیسے کے بورے مواقع دئے جاتے تھے اور ان کے سماجی امور کا فصلہ آنسوں کے مدھی فابوں کے مطاق کما جانا تھا۔ چونکہ ریاست کی حفاظت کی دمہداری عمر مسلموں کے سر نہ تھی اس لئے آدیس انک محصر سائنس دسا بڑتا تھا جو حریہ کہلانا تھا لیکن حسرے ہی وہ فوجی حملہ کے لئے آمادہ ہوتے حریہ مددوں کر دنا جاتا۔ جہاں تک انصاف اور شہری حقوق کا تعلق ہے مسلموں اور عمر مسلموں میں کوئی امسار نہ تھا۔

حسا کہ شروع میں ذکر کیا گما نہ مثالی اسلامی ریاست ہم آپ سے اساؤں ہی ہے فائم کی تھی اور صرف عرب تک محدود نہ تھی بلکہ کتنے ہی دوسرے سالک بھی اس میں شامل ہیں، جہاں محلف اقوام سی ہوں۔ جہاں محلف ریاست بولی حاتی تیس اور جہاں کے تهدید و تبدیل عرب سے محلف تھے۔ نہ مثالی اسلامی ریاست اس وقت تک اس کے چلاجے والے احلاف حسے سے منصف رہے اور ان کے اعمال و کردار سکی کی راہ سے نہ ہٹیں، لیکن حسرے ہی ان سک اطمینان لوگوں کی اکثریت دیسا سے رخصت ہوئی حلافت انک ناکارہ ادارہ ن کر رہ گئی۔ مثالی حلاف کا ریاست اتنا ہے لے کر حلقة چہارم حضرت علی کرم اللہ وحیہ کے عہد تک سمجھنا چاہئے۔ حضرت علی کے بعد بلکہ انک حد تک آن کی ودگی ہی میں می اسہ اپنی حمد گری، عداری اور فرم انگری کی ندولت حلاف دی فاصلہ ہو گئے تھے۔

حس و فت می اسہ برسر امندار ائمہ اس وقت حلافت کی حصوصات حسے تقریباً کل کی کل مٹ چکی توں، می اسہ بے ولی عسدی کا سلسلہ فائم کر کے حاشی کو میروپی نا دنا اور حلافت کا انک مثالی ادارہ انک محدود بادشاہی می تبدل

ہو کر رہ گیا۔ انہوں نے جلسی بیوڑی دوختہم نہیں اور بیت الممال کا روپیہ اپنی ذات اور انہیں اقرباً پر خروج کیا۔ اس سے پہلے تو یہ ہے کہ انہوں نے عرب اور غیر عرب مسلمانوں میں امتیاز قائم کر دیا، شہری حقوق اور ٹیکس کے اوز معاملے میں عرب مسلمانوں کو خاص رعایتیں حاصل تھیں۔ اس کے باوجودہ بنی امیہ کی فتوحات کا سلسلہ دور دور بھیلا۔ اس کی ایک وجہ یہ تھی کہ انہوں نے مفتح اقوام کے ماتحت اس سے کوئی بخوبی سلوک کیا جیسا کہ خود ان کے اپنے حکمران کرتے آئے تھے۔ بیرونی ممالک میں لوگ انہوں غلامی سے نجات دلانے والا مجبور تھے تھے۔ لیکن خود انہی ملک میں چونکہ انہوں نے خلافتی راشدین کی جگہ لے لی تھی مسکر خلافتی راشدین کی صفات عالیہ ان میں نہ تھیں اور ایسے وہ فاسق اور گمراہ مجبور تھے جاتے تھے۔ اس طرح اسلامی مملکت کے ہر حصے کی رشایا آن سے بزار ہو گئی اور عظیم الشان فتوحات کے باوجود وہ زیادہ مدت تک حکمران نہ رہ سکے اور سو ہر س کے اندر اندر ہی ان کی سلطنت کا شیرازہ بکھیر کیا اور بنی عباس خلافت پر قابض ہو گئے۔

بنی امیہ کا انجام نہایت عبرتناک ہوا اور اس کی روشنی میں سیاست کا پہلا اصول نہایت واضح ہو جاتا ہے کہ جب تک کسی حکومت کو رعایا کی مخلصانہ حمایت اور ہمدردی حاصل نہ ہو، بڑی سے بڑی فوجی طاقت کا سہارا بھی اسے فنا ہونے سے نہیں بچاسکتا۔ بنی امیہ کے زوال کے بعد خلافت کی وحدت بھی پارہ پارہ ہو گئی کیونکہ خلافت عباسیہ کے دوران ہی میں ایک طرف بنی امیہ نے اسپین میں اپنی ایک علیحدہ خلافت قائم کرلی تھی اور دوسری طرف صورت میں علویوں کی فاطمی خلافت وجود

میں آئئی اور یہ دو یوں حلامتیں نہ صرف یہ کہ مرکزی خلافت عباسیہ کی اطاعت گراونہ تھیں بلکہ ہمیشہ اس کے ساتھ برس پیکر رہتی تھیں ۔

اگرچہ ان سے سلطنتوں نے مادی مائنٹنگ ترقی دہ کچھ کی اور ساری دنیا کو علوم و مدون اور تہذیب کی روشنی سے سور کر دیا اور یہ سے کچھ اس وقت ہوا جب کہ دوسرے ممالک جن میں یورپ بھی شامل ہے جہالت کی تاریکی میں ذوبیح ہوئے تھے ۔ اور یہ بھی صحیح ہے کہ ان سلطنتوں نے اپنی اپنی حدود سلطنت میں مساوات، آزادی، احolut اور انصاف کے اصولوں کو برداشت اور سے بڑھ کر یہ کہ اپنی مفتوج اقوام کے ساتھ رودادی کا سلوک کیا لیکن اس کے ناوجود ان سے نے شہنشاہیت کے اصولوں کے مطابق حکومت کی اور حانشی کو موروثی مدادیا ۔ حتیک ان خاندانوں میں قابل اور محبت کش حکمران ہوتے رہے سلطنت ترقی کرتی رہی اور رعایا کی ملاح و بیبود کے نہت سے کام انعام پاتے رہے لیکن اس شہنشاہی نظام کا لازمی انجام یہی ہوتا تھا کہ پستی کی طرف مائل ہوتے ہوتے آہستہ آہستہ اس کا خاتمه ہو جائے ۔

یہ اسلامی سلطنتیں اپنے مفاد کے خاطر ایک دوسرے سے نکراتی رہتی تھیں اور اس سے مذہب اسلام کو نہت نقصان بھیجا ۔ ایک طرف تو یہ سلطنتیں خود ہی زوال پر آمادہ تھیں اور دوسری طرف یورپ کی طاقتیں ان کی ناہمی ناتافقی دیکھ کر آپس میں متعدد ہو گئیں اور سے نے مل کر اسلامی ممالک کے خلاف جنگ شروع کر دی اور کچھ مدت کے لئے اسلامی سلطنت کے بعض

حصوں پر ان کا قبضہ بنی ہو کیا لیکن اسلامی تعلیمات میں کچھ نہیں ایسا زور ایسی طاقت تھی اور مسلمانوں میں دین کا کچھ ایسا بے دناء جذبہ تھا کہ جہاں انہیں زنگی یا حلاج الدین جیسا کوئی سالار ملا انہوں نے اپنے پراگندہ لشکروں کو یک جا کر کے یورپ کی عیسائی طاقتوں کے متعدد حملوں کو پسپا کر دیا اور دشمنوں کو اپنے ملک سے نکال دیا۔

ان تمام انقلابات کے باوجود جن ملکوں میں مسلمانوں کی اکثریت تھی وہاں اسلام کا کوئی خاص نقصان نہیں ہوا۔ البتہ بد قسمت اسپین میں اسلام کو اور خود تمہدیب کو زبردست صدمہ پہنچا۔ اسپین میں مسلمان باہمی رقاتوں اور جنگوں میں ایسے الجنیں کہ اسلامی ریاست کی اصلی غرض و غایت ہی کو بھول گئے۔ وہ غرض و غایت اعادے کلمہ "الله کے عہدا کچھ نہ تھی۔ انہوں نے اشاعت اسلام کی طرف سے بالکل آنکھیں بند کر لیں۔ حالانکہ یہی وہ طریقہ تھا جس کے ذریعے وہ اسلام کا نور لیکوں کے قلوب تک پہنچا سکتے تھے۔ اشاعت اسلام کی طرف سے غفلت کا انجام یہ ہوا کہ اسپین کے مسلمان زیادہ تر تو سوت کے گھاٹ اتار دئے گئے اور جو باقی بچے آنکھیں ہمیشہ ہمیشہ کے لئے اسپین سے نکال دیا گیا۔

ادھر مشرق میں عباسیوں نے اس اس کا یعنی دلایا کہ خلافت کا حق صرف بنی عباس کو حاصل ہے اور اس طرح خلافت بغداد آخر تک عباسیوں کے خاندان میں رہی، لیکن یہ اس اصول اسلام اور اصول فطرت دونوں کے خلاف تھا کہ حکومت نااہلوں کے ہاتھوں میں رہی، اس لئے لاائق اور قابل حکمرانوں نے اصلی

طاقت خلیفہ سے چھین لی (جہاں تک مشرقی ممالک میں اسلامی ریاست کا تعلق ہے اس سے کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا تھا کہ حکومت کی باگ خلیفہ کے ہاتھوں میں رہے یا دوسرے مسلمان سلاطین کے ہاتھ میں، کیونکہ خلیفہ اور سلاطین دونوں کا نصب العین اگرچہ ایک ہی تھا لیکن اسلامی ریاست میں جو خرابیاں پیدا ہو جکی توہین وہ دونوں جگہ یکسان طور پر موجود تھیں) اس دو عملی حکومت کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ باہمی حنگوں اور رقبوں کی بنا پر کفار مغول کو اسلامی ممالک پر حملہ کرنے کا موقع مل گیا اور انہوں نے سنہ ۱۲۵۸ میں خلافت کا خاتمه کر دیا۔

(مغلوں کے ہاتھوں بغداد کی تباہی اور اسلامی ممالک پر تسلط کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ آس وقت تک اسلام نے مذہب، روایت، تمذیب اور تمدن کی ترقی کے لئے جو کچھ کیا تھا وہ سب فنا ہو گیا) سلمانوں پر شہادت نازک وقت پڑا تھا۔ لیکن جلد ہی حالات بدل گئے۔ لادین مغول کو جب مسلمانوں سے سیل جوں کا اتفاق ہوا تو وہ آسی مذہب کے پیرو اور شیدائی نے گئے جسے آن کے آبا و اجداد نے تباہ کیا تھا۔ دنیا کی تاریخ میں یہ پہلی مثال ہے کہ فاتحون نے مفتتوح قوم کا مذہب اختیار کیا۔ یہ واقعہ آن سلمان سلاطین کے لئے ایک درس عبرت ہے جنہوں نے اشاعت اسلام کی طرف سے ہمیشہ غفلت بر تی۔ اگر وہ ذرا سی بھی کوشش کرتے تو دنیا کا چیہہ چہہ نور اسلام سے روشن ہو جاتا (آن نومسلم مغلوں نے قدیم مسلمان حکمرانوں کے نتش قدم پر ڈل کر اپران میں پیور ایک بار اسلام کی شان و شوکت کو چار چاند لگادئے)۔

اسلام کی عظمت و شان کے آخری دور میں دو زبردست سلطنتیں وجود میں آئیں۔ ایک ہندوستان میں سلطنت مغلیہ اور

دوسری ایشیا میں کوچک میں ترکی سلطنت - دونوں سلطنتوں نے دنیا کی تہذیب و تمدن میں حیرت انگیز اضافہ کیا اور اسلام کے قابل قدر اصولوں یعنی مساوات، آزادی، اخوت، انصاف اور رواداری کو پھیلایا (ترکی سلطنت کو اپنی طاقت اور اقتدار کے بڑھانے میں زیادہ کامیابی حاصل ہوئی اور اس کی حدود سلطنت کے یورپ میں ویانا تک جا پہنچیں - بالکل ممکن تھا کہ ترک سارے یورپ کو فتح کر لیتے لیکن بد قسمتی سے ایران کی مسلمان مگر شیعہ سلطنت کے ساتھ ان کی جنگیں ان کی راہ میں حائل ہو گئیں)

ترکی اور مغالیہ دونوں سلطنتیں شہنشاہیت کے اصول پر قائم تھیں جن میں مجلس شوریٰ کی کوئی گنجائش نہ تھی - اس خامی کے باوجود جب تک ان دونوں سلطنتوں میں مذکورہ بالا اسلامی اصول برتر جاتے رہے اور جب تک دنیا کے دوسرے ممالک میں یہ اصول اختیار نہ کئے گئے یہ دونوں سلطنتیں کامیابی کے ساتھ چلتی رہیں (ان سلطنتوں کے حکمران اپنی میکوم قوموں کے ساتھ نہایت فیاضانہ سلوک کرتے تھے اس لئے انہیں انسانیت کا نجات دھننده سمجھا جاتا تھا) لیکن ان دونوں سلطنتوں نے اسلامی ریاست کا سب سے پہلا بنیادی اصول فراموش کر دیا تھا۔ اسلامی ریاست کی غرض و غایت اعلاء کلمہ "الله اور ترویج اسلام کے سوا اور کچھ نہیں اور یہی بات وہ بھول گئے تھے -

اٹھارویں صدی میں انقلاب فرانس کے بعد جب یورپ میں شہنشاہیت اور جاگیردارانہ نظام کا خاتمه ہوا تو اسلام کے زرین اصول یعنی حریت، اخوت، مساوات، انصاف اور رواداری یورپیں ممالک میں بھی رواج پا گئے اور وہاں سے ساری دنیا میں پھیل گئے - لہذا اب ترکوں اور مغلوں کے لئے یہ امر قطعاً ناممکن تھا کہ ان کی حکومت بستور قائم رہے، خصوصاً ایسی حالت میں کہ موروثی جانشینی کے رواج کی بنا پر وہ خود بھی

زوال پذیر ہو چکرے تھے ۔ اگرچہ ابتدائی اسلام کے عربوں کی طرح ترکوں اور مغلوں نے بھی اشاعت اسلام کی سعی کی ہوتی تو یہ البتہ اسلام کی ، آن ممالک کے مسلمانوں کی ، اور بحیثیت مجموعی ساری دنیا کی ایک گران قدر خدمت ہوتی ۔

انہاروں صدی میں جبکہ مسلمان مشرق اور مغرب دونوں میں زوال پذیر ہو رہے تھے اہل یورپ اس وقت بھی اسلام کو ایک عظیم الشان طاقت اور مسیحیت کا زبردست حریف سمجھتے تھے ۔ جس وقت مسلمانوں کی حکومتیں ٹکڑے ٹکڑے ہو چکی تھیں اور ایک دوسرے سے مصروف پیکار تھیں اور مسلمانوں کی اکثریت ایگاؤں کی میکوم بن چکی تھی اس وقت یورپ کی طاقتوں نے یہ فیصلہ کیا کہ ترکی کا نام و نشان صفحہ " ہستی سے مٹادیا جائے کیونکہ اب ترکی ہی خلافت کا مرکز تھی اور دنیا بھر کے مسلمان ذہنی طور پر اس سے وابستہ تھے ۔

ترکی تقریباً مٹ چکا تھا کہ ایک عظیم الشان قومی ہیرو غازی مصطفیٰ کمال پاشا نمودار ہوا جس نے اس گرفتے ہوئے کھر کو تھام لیا اور عیسائی طاقتوں کی دست برد سے بچا لیا لیکن اب ترکی مٹ کر صرف اس علاقے پر مشتمل رہ گیا جہاں مسلمانوں کی اکثریت تھی ۔

یوسوں صدی میں حق خودارادیت کے اصول کے ماتحت جن جن ممالک میں مسلمانوں کی اکثریت تھیں وہاں جدا گانہ قومی ریاستیں قائم ہو گئیں اور اب یہ مسلم ریاستیں ساری دنیا میں بکھری ہوئی ہیں ۔ ان ریاستوں میں سے اکثر ایسی ہیں جنہیں اسلامی ریاستیں نہیں کہا جاسکتا کیونکہ وہاں اسلامی قانون تک مروج نہیں ۔ اسی حق خودارادیت کے ماتحت جب ہندوستان کو آزادی ملی تو وہاں کے مسلمانوں کو ایک سخت مصیبت کا

سامنا تھا وہ اقلیت میں تھے اور کسی طرح اس پر راضی نہ تھے کہ ہندو اکثریت آن پر حکومت کرے۔ ہندوؤں کے متعلق مسلمانوں کے تجربات نہایت تلخ اور اندوہنگاک تھے اور اب ہندو راج کے صرف یہ معنی تھے کہ ہند کے مسلمان یکسر صفحہ ہستی سے مٹ جائیں۔

ان حالات کے پیش نظر علامہ اقبال رحم مرحوم نے یہ نکتہ سمجھایا کہ ملک کے جن حصوں میں مسلمانوں کی بھاری اکثریت ہے وہاں مسلمانوں کو بھی خود ارادیت کا حق دیا جائے۔ ہندوستان کے سارے مسلمانوں نے اس خیال سے اتفاق کیا اور سنہ ۱۹۴۷ء میں قائدِ عظم محمد علی جناح رحم کے ہاتھوں اس خیال نے عملی جامعہ پہن لیا اور اس طرح پاکستان کی نئی ریاست وجود میں آئی۔ آس وقت مسلمانوں کا خیال یہ تھا کہ وہ پاکستان کو صحیح معنی میں ایک اسلامی ریاست بنائیں گے اور اسی غرض سے (کانسٹی ٹوینٹ اسمبلی) نے اپنی مشہور قرارداد مقاصد منظور کی تھی۔

پاکستان کے دو صوبے ہیں۔ ایک مشرق میں دوسرا مغرب میں اور دونوں کے درمیان ہزار میل کا فاصلہ ہے۔ دونوں صوبوں میں اگرچہ بیشتر مسلمان ہی آباد ہیں لیکن دونوں صوبوں کی زبانیں مختلف ہیں۔ ان کا تمدن اور ان کی تہذیب بھی مختلف ہے۔ اس ملک میں جو گونا گون عناصر کا مجموعہ ہے قومیت کی بنیاد پر ریاست کی تشکیل نہیں ہو سکتی، کیونکہ خود قومیت کے لئے جو چیزیں لازمی ہیں۔ ان میں سے کئی یہاں کے لوگوں میں موجود نہیں۔ صرف اسلام ہی ایک ایسا قومی رشتہ ہے جس کی بنا پر ان کی شیرازہ بندی ہو سکتی ہے اور انہیں ایک متعدد قوم بنایا جاسکتا ہے۔ اب اگر دستوریہ (کانسٹی ٹوینٹ اسمبلی)

کی منظور کی ہوئی قرارداد متصد کو بنیاد قرار دے کر اس پر
ریاست کی تعمیر کی جائیے تو بلاشبہ یہ نہ صرف اسلام کی ایک
بڑی خدمت ہوگی بلکہ خود مسلمانان پاکستان کی فلاح و بہبود
بھی اسی میں مضمون ہے۔

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Maulvi Zafar Hasan

(*Ex-Deputy Director General of Archaeology, undivided India*).

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I gratefully appreciate the honour that has been conferred upon me by the Pakistan Historical Society in selecting me president of Indo-Pakistan History Section. In the performance of my official duties I devoted myself long ago to the study of structural monuments and other antiquities which constitute a vital and in many cases the most authentic source of information on some aspects of the history of civilization. Constant reference to original authorities brought to my notice that most of the contemporary works on Indo-Muslim History were still in manuscript form not easily accessible to scholars. The growing influence of western culture and the ever-increasing popularity of the English language was adversely affecting the study of oriental languages. Indifference towards oriental learning was perhaps the most prominent and certainly the most unpatriotic feature of our intellectual life in the second half of the nineteenth century. The natural consequence of this state of affairs was that the glories of our cultural heritage preserved in the form of manuscripts were fast dying out. Some of these had no doubt seen the light of print, but it was only a drop in the ocean. The two ways of saving these treasures from ravages of time and weather were printing their text (or translations) and collecting the original manuscripts and preserving them as best as is humanly possible. The printing of texts and translations requires elaborate arrangements and can be done by Government or learned bodies; but in the collection of

manuscripts besides libraries, even individuals can render some useful service. Most of us are acquainted with personal collections which though small in size contain valuable works. It was in this spirit of rendering my humble quota of service to the cause of oriental learning that I started collecting manuscripts on Indo-Muslim history, and also edited and published two of them. I consider myself exceptionally fortunate that in the holocaust of 1947, when all my belongings including a fairly good number of printed works were plundered at Delhi by the rioters, the manuscripts escaped their cruel hands because they were thrown away as things of no intrinsic value. After a few weeks when I sent a relative of mine to see if anything was left in the house he found about half of my collection of manuscripts lying in a heap on the floor of the room, which I used to call with some feeling of pride as my library. He could manage to bring them and some of them you can see in the Exhibition. You will kindly excuse me for making this reference to my personal collection but I have done it purposely. It shows how necessary it is to preserve the manuscripts and to print them. If this collection had been destroyed, as was not unlikely then certain works, as for instance the *Insha-i Hamiduddin* and the *Dinan-i Dara Shukoh*, would have for ever been lost to the world. The Quran transcribed by Yaqut Mustasimi was the only work which I had managed to bring with me in the plane.

The conception of history and with it the scope of historical studies has now greatly widened, and works containing mere narration of facts are not regarded as comprehensive and reliable records of the past. The historians written during the period of Muslim supremacy in India are stated to have the defect that they speak little of the social and cultural life of the people and confine themselves to the narration of political and military events whereas the works produced during the British regime contain misrepresented and misinterpreted facts apparently with the object of presenting an ugly picture of Muslim rule and thereby consolidating the position of foreign government. Consequently there is an urgent need for the rewriting of history which should be free from these defects and present in its true perspective the glory of our heritage. This does not mean that the shortcomings of our past generations are to be concealed or

suppressed. In fact what we want is an impartial and objective study of our history on modern and scientific lines.

The period of Muslim supremacy is the most important chapter of the history of this sub-continent and presents to us a number of problems for closer and critical study. Some of these may be mentioned here to illustrate the nature of the work that is to be done. These are :—

- (a) The advent of Islam and establishment of Muslim rule in the sub-continent ;
- (b) The administrative policy of the Muslim governments ;
- (c) Their attitude towards religion and society ;
- (d) The contribution of Muslims to Indo-Pakistan civilization and culture ;
- (e) The influence of Islam on the Indian civilization and culture as well as on the religion of the Hindus ;
- (f) The influence of Hindu ideas on Muslim society, and
- (g) The development of the two systems side by side, without complete absorption of one by the other.

For the study of these problems, which are only a few of the many that the students of history shall have to examine, we have copious material available to us. I would like to briefly refer to some of the prominent features of this material.

Historical Literature : As has been mentioned above the historians of medieval centuries are considered as mere annalists. But in fairness to them we should bear in mind that they wrote in a period when autocracy was the order of the day and reigning monarch was the centre of all political life. We need not be too harsh on them because even today, when we boast of our ideals of freedom and democracy, our partiality for the policies of the government is quite marked. I am not referring to any particular country or people ; in fact this is true more less of all countries although there is a difference in degree according to the strength of public opinion. The art of writing history systematically was introduced in Hind-Pakistan with the advent of Muslims, and it took its people some time to

develop a taste for it. In the beginning the task of compiling historical works was performed by those who were connected with the court. In course of time, however, matters improved, and we find that most of the histories compiled later are the productions of scholars who studied the subject for the sake of learning alone. It may be added that the Hindus had also begun to take to history writing. They followed strictly the system and style of muslim writers: for instance they started their works like their Muslim contemporaries with *Hamd* (praises of God), *Nat* (praises of the Prophet) and *Manabat* (praises of the descendants and companions of the Prophet). During the period of Muslim supremacy which lasted for more than six centuries, several dynasties rose to power one after another and ruled the empire of Delhi, while some independent monarchies sprang up from time to time in different parts of the sub-continent. Many of the rulers made it a point to have histories of their reigns and dynasties compiled on the basis of official records explaining the view-point of the government of the day and describing its achievements. Along with these official histories, which are generally rich in details and accurate in facts, we have also inherited histories written by private individuals who were opposed to the policy of the Government. The modern historians are, therefore, in a position to form an independent opinion in the light of the two versions which differ not so much in the narration of facts as in their interpretations.

In addition to a vast amount of historical literature we have a mass of other literary works, such as *Tazkiras* and *Mulzuzat* (biographies and manuals of teachings) of the *Mashaiq Fataw* and *Ains* (works on religious and secular law), *Safar Namias* (accounts of travellers), *Maktubat* (collections of letters), *Qasas* and *Afsanas* works of fiction and fables), which throw a flood of light on the every day life of the people and the social system under which they lived.

Besides recorded material there is a heap of ancient relics comprising (1) structural remains, (2) inscriptions, (3) official documents, (4) coins, (5) articles of domestic use, (6) dresses and apparels and (7) miscellaneous antiquities, which supply valuable information regarding the various aspects of life of the period. The objects lie strewn throughout the sub-continent, and it is a pity that only a small percentage of them has fallen to the share of Pakistan.

Structural remains : The civilization and culture of a period manifest themselves very pronouncedly in its architecture. By the time that the Muslims laid the foundation of their empire in Hind-Pakistan, Islamic architecture had acquired a fundamental character adapted to their religious and social needs. These peculiar features of their architecture were freely introduced by them in the buildings which they constructed here. The indigenous Hindu architecture was inherently different in style from Muslim architecture. The former was trabeate based on flat roof, beams and columns, while the latter was archuate characterized by domes, vaults and arches. Other characteristic features which the Muslims introduced were minars and minarets, squinches and pendentives and grand double portals. It may be stated that lime mortar and concrete are not known to have been in use in the sub-continent before the advent of Muslims ; at any rate these materials are not traceable in the Hindu monuments, which are noticed to have been built in dry stone or brick in mud. The introduction of lime mortar and concrete was a great contribution made by the Muslims to the Indo-Pakistan art of building. The Western scholars have propounded a theory that the fusion of these styles—Muslim and Hindu—has given birth to a new one which they have called by the name of Indo-Muslim architecture. It is difficult to agree with this view. In fact what they call Indo-Muslim architecture is really Muslim architecture in local setting. The prominent features of the Muslim monuments and their general plans are purely Muslim. Innumerable monuments representing Muslim architecture in local setting are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent, and a careful examination of these relics throws a flood of light on the culture, art, social and religious ideals and economic condition of their builders.

Inscriptions : The origin of Muslim epigraphy in Hind-Pakistan can be traced to the last decade of the twelfth century of the Christian era. These are found in Arabic and Persian languages and in later period in Urdu also. As regards the script, the early inscriptions are written in *Naskh* characters irrespective of their language, whether it is Arabic or Persian. *Kufic* style is also noticed, but it is confined to religious inscriptions of a

decorative nature About the middle of the sixteenth century *Nastaliq* made its appearance in the Indian epigraphy Gradually it gained popularity, and in the nineteenth century it almost entirely replaced *Naskh*, which was reserved exclusively for religious inscriptions that were in Arabic With regard to their nature and subject, the Muslim inscriptions can be classified under three heads (a) religious, containing quotations from the holy *Quran* or *Hadis* (sayings of the Prophet) or pious ejaculations, (b) historical, referring to any event or bearing names of rulers or dates and (c) ethical comprising moral precepts and maxims

The principal inscribed objects which have so far received attention are structural monuments, but only a small percentage of them have been subjected to epigraphical examination In addition to these there are countless movable antiquities, such as arms, articles of domestic use, seals, signets, amulets, etc., which bear inscriptions of great historical and palaeographical interest In the sub-continent the Muslim inscriptions played a very important part in the field of decoration, and they offer valuable information for the study of the development of calligraphy

It is to be noted that the Muslim inscriptions engaged the attention of scholars after the advent of the British, and some of them, particularly those possessing historical interest, were published in Asiatic journals and topographical works In the year 1862 the then Government of India created the Archaeological Department to survey the ancient monuments, and such Muslim inscriptions as had been born by those monuments were printed in the periodical reports or monographs published in that connection Subsequently there was started the *Epigraphia Indica* with a view to collecting and publishing epigraphical records in one place Although the Muslim inscriptions formed a component part of the scheme, that periodical was mostly devoted to Hindu antiquities To amend this defect, a part time post of Epigraphist for Muslim inscriptions was created to publish Muslim epigraphs in a separate Journal entitled "*Epigraphia Indo-Moslimica*" This also did not improve the situation the "*Epigraphia Indica*", reserved for Hindu epigraphs, published four issues in a year, the "*Epigraphia Indo-Moslimica*" was biennial, only one issue of it

appearing in two years with an average of thirtyfive inscriptions. Up to the time of partition as many as twenty issues of the "Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica" were published dealing with more than seven hundred inscriptions. In the "List of the Published Mohamedan Inscriptions of India" prepared and printed by Dr. J. Horvitz in the second issue of the "Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica" for the year 1909-10, it is noticed that more than 1250 Muslim inscriptions have been published in numerous English, Persian and Urdu publications. Thus we see that a substantial record of the Muslim inscriptions of India exists in print, and it can be made available for study to the scholars interested in the subject. It may, however, be stated that what has been printed is very insignificant portion of the huge material that lies unnoticed in the country. It would be a useful work if the Archaeological Department of Pakistan or learned bodies like the Pakistan Historical Society take up this task and publish the inscriptions which have not been printed so far. The volumes of the "Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica" are now very rare. The question of re-printing them and thus making them available to our young researchers is to be seriously considered.

Official documents: Foreign invasions and internal disturbances have caused a wholesale destruction of the state archives of the Muslims and robbed us of our official records. What is available now consists of copies of certain classes of documents that were issued to the individuals concerned. Those which have come to my notice include (i) *Farmans* and *Manshurs* (royal mandates) (ii) *Sanads* (grants), (iii) *Parwanas* (letters of appointment, etc.), (iv) *Robkars* (state orders), (v) *Parwana-i-Rahidari* (permits or passports), (vi) *Tashih Namas* (muster certificate) (vii) *Dastaks* (orders for payment of revenue), (viii) *Ibra Namas* (certificates of relief from payments), (ix) *Tasdiqs* (attestations of rights and claims by the state authorities), (x) *Mahzar Namas* (public attestations of certain facts in the interest of persons concerned), (xi) *Tajawiz-i-Adalat* (Court judgments), (xii) *Nikah Namas* (marriage contracts) and (xiii) *Bai Namas* (sale deeds). It is only the documents of the Mughul period which are generally available but a systematic search may bring to light this kind of evidence pertaining to the period of earlier dynasties also. Written as they are on paper, which is liable to decay and destruction, they are fast disappearing. Many of these still exist in private possession and an effort should be made to collect and

preserve them in our museums and archives. The official documents supply valuable information concerning administrative procedure about which historical works are mostly silent, and their historical importance cannot be denied.

Coins Muslim coins are invaluable adjuncts to historical study, bearing as they do the name and conventional titles of the ruler, the date, the name of the mint and quite often legend of religious character. Immediately after the conquest of Delhi, the Muslims struck their coins and adapted them to indigenous Hindu currency. The latter was based on gold and billon (alloy of copper and silver) coins, which were small in size and less than forty *rattis* in weight. The gold coins bore the figure of *Lakshmi* on one side and the name of Raja on the other, while the billon coins had the figure of *Siva* bull with the name of Raja on obverse and a horseman outlined on reverse. Originally the coins issued by the Muslims were of this type, but gradually they succeeded in giving Islamic character to their currency. They introduced silver and copper coins, replaced the figures of *Lakshmi*, *Siva* bull and horseman with elaborate Arabic legends and abandoned billon using pure metals for their coinage. It was, however, not until the rise of the Mughals that the Muslim currency of Hind Pakistan was fully developed, and the various stages of its development are illustrated by the coins of the period in different collections.

As in the case of epigraphy the study of numismatics was undertaken after the advent of the British, when specimens of such items as possessed any importance in that respect were collected and preserved in museums. Subsequently the enactment of the Treasure Trove Act greatly enriched the coin collections of the various museums. To our misfortune only a few museums have published the catalogues of the coins in their possession, which in others they are lying unclassified and unarranged. Unless the coins are properly arranged and catalogued, they cannot be utilized for numismatic study, and it is expected that the coin collections in our museums will soon receive that treatment. I would, therefore, like to draw the attention of the authorities concerned to print the catalogues of the collections of coins in Pakistan museums.

Folk-lore and rural songs : Mention may also be made of folk-lore and rural songs which are also a source of information for the study of social life, customs and religious beliefs of the common people, among whom they have been preserved in memory coming down from father to son. Composed in local dialect and crude in style, they express spontaneous feelings and emotions free from affectation and conventionality. Similarly *Festivals* and *Ceremonies* throw a light on the subject. Such records, non-literary but accurate, offer an immense material for research to the students interested in social history. Under the influence of the Western culture and civilization the common people are losing their interest in this unwritten lore, and unless it is collected and put into writing it will soon be forgotten and thrown into oblivion.

Undoubtedly the collection of the historical material detailed above is a problem beset with many difficulties, but these can be overcome, and efforts should be made to collect the material as far as possible. It is gratifying to note that the Pakistan Historical Society has already taken steps to prepare ground for historical research in our country as is evident by its Journal and other literary undertakings. The useful project sponsored by the Government of the preparation of a "History of the Freedom Movement of the Muslims of the Sub-continent" is also progressing, and I understand its first volume will be published very shortly. The Society, however, may extend its activities and devise a scheme for the publication of a comprehensive and reliable history of the period of Muslim supremacy in the sub-continent. It should have wide foundations and in fact should be a comprehensive history of Islam in Hind-Pakistan.

May God bless our efforts with success and guide us to the right path !



Islamic History Section

(99—100)

THE TURKISH SAILOR AND CARTOGRAPHER

by

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Piri Re'is was the author of the *Bahriye*, a book on the Mediterranean Sea. It deals in 130 sections with all the coasts by which the Mediterranean is surrounded and with all the islands which are found in it. Each section has a map, and it seems that these maps derive from Venetian originals which Piri Re'is was able to copy in Gallipoli where his book was written. So far as we know, however, the originals have perished. The great Portulan maps are based on these sectional maps, but the latter contain many more details and so are of greater value. The text of the *Bahriye* is also valuable as it appears to record observations made by the author himself. Primarily the book was written with a practical aim in view. It gives information of nautical and military interest, and indicates anchorages rocks in the sea, drinking-water and fortifications of which it is needful to be aware. But, in addition, Piri Re'is includes notes on the cultivation, on inhabited places, and on ruins—which are also marked on the maps as *kharūb*. His archeological notes are particularly valuable because they mention only what had actually been found and the historical explanations are written naively from the Turkish point of view.

In such terms as the foregoing the *Bahriye* was characterised by Rudolf Herzog, my classical colleague at Giessen University, who, in his earlier days, had directed some archeological excavations on the island of Kos and given a commented translation of Piri Re'is' description of Athens. As a result of discussions with him I was led to undertake a closer study of the book.

We know that Piri Re'is was the nephew of Kemal Re'is, a very famous Turkish sailor. Kemal had first joined the Azeb soldiery in

Euboa, the island which had been conquered by the Turks in 1470, and he became an (*azeb*) *reis*, a rank which could only be attained after a service of at least 8—10 years. In about 1481 he took up the career of a pirate and it seems that he established his main base on the island of Jirbe in Tunis. For the subsequent part of his life we have a few Turkish notes which were collected by Mehmed Shukri, a naval expert, in his book *esfâr-i bahriye-i osmanîye* (Istanbul 1887) and by Haydar Alpagut and Fewzi Kurtoglu in the Introduction to the reproduction of *Piri Reis Kitâbî Bahriye* (Dâvlet Basimevi, Istanbul 1935). We learn particularly that Kemal Reis was engaged in rescuing the Muslim refugees from Spain in 1487 and the following years, Boabdil İ^e, Abu Abdullah Muhammed XI, of the Banu Ahmar (the Nasrids), the last King of Granada (1482-1492) had, in a famous Kasıda, entreated the help of the Turks with the result that Kemal was sent. At this time Piri Reis was with him and many details of these expeditions are found in the *Bahriye*.

In 1494, Kemal Reis was appointed an officer in the Turkish Navy by Sultan Bayazid, and he quickly became one of its leading captains to whom very important tasks were entrusted. For the subsequent part of his life, besides some Turkish notes, a primary source is provided by the *Diarî of Marino Sanuto*, published in Venice between 1879 and 1902, in 58 large folio volumes, which recount everything that happened in the Mediterranean area from 1496 to 1553. The first volumes of the book are full of reports about Kemal Reis. One of my Bonn pupils in Turkish studies, Hans Albrecht von Burck, a former Army officer, has in his Thesis *Kemal Reis Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Flotte* (Bonn 1928), brought together the most relevant notes from Marino Sanuto as well as the information provided by the Turkish sources. Kemal Reis who is referred to by Marino Sanuto as *Camalli*, is described as a gallant, formidable and terrifying enemy. Kemal Reis was the outstanding Turkish leader in the battles of Modon and Lepanto in 1500, and, in 1501 carried out raids in the Western Mediterranean where he captured, near Valencia seven Spanish sailing ships (*barcas*) which had returned from the newly discovered America. In 1511, the ship which had been put at his disposal, being unseaworthy, broke into pieces and he was drowned near the island of Naxos.

Pirī Re'is, his nephew, had accompanied him for a very long time. He had already been associated with him in the rescue of the Spanish Muslims. In his *Bahrīye* we find many interesting reports of the different expeditions undertaken with his uncle. He had come to have an expert knowledge of the Mediterranean Sea. When he finished his first edition of the *Bahrīye* in 1521, he had had more than 30 years experience of seafaring, the greater part of them in the service of his uncle, but subsequently as his own master. He had intended to present the *Bahrīye* to Sultan Selim to whom it was first dedicated and to whom, some years previously in 1517, he had presented in Cairo a map of the world which he had drawn. But Selim died before the book was finished, and with the new ruler, Sultan Sulaiman, he had no contact and he did not know how to approach him. Consequently he left his book as it was. We learn that it had been written on single leaves, each leaf having a map of the coast or island which was described on it.

When Pirī Re'is finished his book in 1521 we may expect him to have included many things from his own long experiences on the sea, and we do very often find such personal observations in his book. Yet he also relied for the information he has given on something more. That the maps are dependent on earlier sources from which they were copied was already suggested by Herzog, and it is not very difficult to prove

The very complicated map of the island of Euboa which we find in the *Bahrīye* is so similar to the map given by Bartolomeo da Li sonetti in his *Isolario ossia corografia del mare Igeo* a book which on its 55 pages has 49 maps cut in wood and verse descriptions of the Aegean islands, and was published more than 40 years before the *Bahriye*, that there can be no doubt the two maps must ultimately have the same origin. The *Isolario* is very rare, but the map of Euboa is reproduced by A.E. Nordenskjold in his *Periplus* (published in 1897) M.L. Geliois, in his book *Cartographia de P. ete de Dclos* (Paris 1910) has come to the conclusion, by comparing all the relevant maps of the Paris Pirī Re'is manuscript with the *Isolario*, that the *Bahrīye* contains a number of maps of the islands of the Orchindago which are clearly copied from these in the *Isolario* so that there is no doubt the *Isolario* has supplied the basis for the geographical illustration.

The *Isolario*, however, contains only maps of the Aegean sea, and Piri Re'i's describes the whole Mediterranean. On the other hand, the maps given by Bartolomeo are so completely different from those given by his predecessors as for instance Christoforo Buondelmonti in his *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (1420), or Francesco Berlinghieri in his *Geographia in tarza rima secondo la geographia et destinatione delle tavole da Ptolemeo* (Printed 1478), that we must try to find out another source for the maps of Sartolomeo and those of Piri Re'i's. We must suppose these maps to go back to medieval Sailing directories which served seamen for practical purposes but soon became obsolete if not constantly amended. Only the latest editions of such books were of use, copies of older editions being destroyed when superseded as no one had any interest in keeping them, just as we have no practical interest in antiquated railway time-tables, and societies and libraries desirous of preserving them for their historical interest did not exist in those days.

We need not be surprised, therefore, when we sometimes find in Piri Re'i's maps which must have been drawn long before the time of Piri Re'i's himself, such as the map of Venice which is the oldest map of the city known to us and of great interest, although it is quite impossible that Piri Re'i's can have made it.

The same must be said of the text of the book. It must have been based on nautical guide-books which had come into his hands. These guide-books were based on the experience of centuries and were very reliable as has been shown already by Herzog. In this connection I made an interesting experiment myself. The well-known archeologists Theodor Wiegand from Berlin and Albert Rehm from Munchen were working in 1924 near Milet in Asia Minor. In autumn of that year I sent them the translation of some chapters of Piri Re'i's dealing with the coasts and islands near Milet and asked them to verify all the details given by him. They did so and wrote to me that there was not a single instance in which the actual condition differed. Such a degree of accuracy can only be explained by the fact that Piri Re'i's had used nautical guid-books. It is understandable for the reason already stated that the sources of Piri Re'i's own nautical handbooks have been lost. On the other hand Piri Re'i's book itself had no rival in Turkey. It was unique and was copied again and again.

Now we know from Hâjji Khalifa and other Turkish sources that then existed two editions of the book. Both editions are available. In the introduction to the second edition of the book, which reproduces the beautiful Aya Sofya manuscript 2612 (Devlet Basımevi 1935), the editors have mentioned (on P, XL) no less than 29 manuscripts of the book of which 16 contain the first, 13 the second edition. But there are in fact many more known to us. The book has been copied very often. In the poetical postscript to the second edition Piri Re'is tells us in a very interesting way how he came to write a second edition. In October 1524, the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha was sent by Sultan Sulaiman to Egypt for an inspection. Ships were accordingly prepared and Piri Re'is was taken as a pilot. The flotilla ran into stormy weather. The safety of the ships and their crews was gravely imperilled. The sailors were panic-stricken and Ibrahim Pasha tried to calm them. Piri Re'is had his Bahîye with him which he had compiled a few years earlier. He describes the succession of events on the voyage as in the following verses.

When we ran into difficulties, I always looked in the book.
What was written in it of the diamonds of my knowledge enabled me to steer the right course. The noble Pasha saw that in accordance with my book everything was determined.

He saw that here was a work of value and decided to examine it. He requested that it be brought to him and saw all the details by which I indicated the way.

Finally he obtained an idea of how I could find the right course from it.

He realised that here were rules of navigation and instruction in skilled seamanship.

Thus he came to a right understanding and paid attention to this slave.....

He said : You have many abilities and are a capable man.

All the conditions of the sea are known to you; not a single place in your heart is benighted.

I desire you to throw light on everything, in order that you may be mentioned at the resurrection.

You must bring the book together carefully, so that it may be helpful to everyone who use it

The book is of such special value as to earn a place in the treasure-house.

Correct it and bring it out accurately that we may present it to the ruler of the world.

As to the slave was given this command, he obeyed it with heart-felt joy.

I had been occupied with it before, but it had not been perfected
I spent all my energy on it, made a fair copy and finished it

Thank God that we arrived at the goal This verse narrative informs us that when danger threatened on the journey, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, recognized the value of the Behriye and commanded Piri Re'sis to arrange it in form in which it could be presented to the Sultan. Piri Re'sis did so and the second edition was finished in 932H, 1525/6 AD, that is to say in the course of about one year. How do the two editions differ? The modern editors of the second edition have mentioned 7 points of difference

A different motive for writing the book (1) In the first edition Piri Re'sis is called the son of Kemal's sister, but in the second edition the son of Kemal's brother, as he also calls himself in the map handed over to Selim in Egypt in 1517 (2). The first edition begins with the description of Ten-dos (*bozge ada*), whereas the second edition has preceded it with a description of Sultanije and kilidul Bahr, the fortresses near Gallipoli (3). In the second edition a poetical introduction of 972 verses is added after the prose introduction (4). A special motivation for the prose description is given in the second edition (5). The 130 chapters and 134 Maps of the first edition are increased in the second edition to more than 200 chapters and to more than 220 maps (6). A poetical postscript of 91 verses is appended to the second edition (7).

As we now have the two editions of the Behriye to compare, we can easily see for ourselves how the two edition differ from each other. I shall give a few examples. The description of the island of Sicily begins in both editions with Messina. In the first edition the

description proceeds from Messina directly to the west. Next the coast in a southeasterly direction is described, then the western coast of the island from south to north. In the second edition we do not find additions or corrections, but an entirely new description, which also begins from Messina, but then proceeds southwards, continuing from south-west to north-east and ending with the description of the northern coast of the island from west to east. In short, the description the second edition is given in the opposite direction from that in the first and the two have hardly anything in common. Piri Re'is has replaced the description which he had given in the first edition by a completely different description in the second.

The same can be said of the islands and towns in the Adriatic Sea which are described in the first edition very briefly and inadequately, in the second edition exactly with every detail. Here also he has replaced the description of the first edition by a different one in the second edition. It is clear that Piri Re'is is the author of neither of these descriptions. He has simply copied the maps and described from his sources. He was anxious to replace, in the copy which was intended to be handed over to the Sultan, old-fashioned maps and inadequate descriptions by more modern maps and more adequate descriptions. The old map of Venice is replaced by a more modern map of the town which he had found. He has added poetical chapters in the edition which was to be presented to the Sultan because the Italian nautical books contained such poetical chapters, and so he has felt it necessary to give a special explanation for the following prose description of his book although the prose description was the earlier one and existed alone in the first edition of the book.

By comparing the two editions of the *Bahrîye* with each other we gain the impression that the first edition is a comparatively exact translation of an existent sailing directory, with copies of the maps found in it and a great number of observations with Piri Re'is had made in the course of over thirty years experience of the sea. It has the advantage of containing the comparatively uniform text of an ancient sailing directory with the often somewhat antiquated maps, with which such directories were illustrated. In the second edition, he has both replaced parts of the text of the first edition with more

recent and more detailed descriptions which had become available to him, and also he has substituted for a great number of maps more up to date ones, adding, moreover, very many others maps which he had procured for himself.

It is very difficult to give an opinion on the long poetical introduction without comparing it with poetry of a similar kind. Here I must confine myself to mentioning the matters which are treated in the 23 chapters of the poetical introduction :

Why the Bahriye was written (1—2), Bad weather, the compass different winds (3—5). How old the knowledge of the map is (6—7). The *inhabited quarter* covers one fourth of the earth, the rest of the earth, is covered by the Seven Seas (8). Henry the navigator and his discoveries. (9). Western Africa, called Habesh (Abyesinia), to the Cape of Good Hope (10) The Globus, the astronomical sphere, the poles, the tropics, the equator (11) How the Portuguese came to India (12) The China Sea (13). The Indian Sea (14—15). The Persian Sea (16) The Sea near Eastern Africa, bahr-i-Zenj (17—20). The Atlantic (Bahr-i-Maghrib) (21) The Mediterranean, bahr-i-Rûm, not treated separately, as the Bahriye is devoted to it. The Red Sea (bahr-i-Kulzem) (22—23).

In the last decades of his life Piri Re's was engaged in fighting the Portuguese in the Indian and Portuguese in the Indian and Persian seas. Unfortunately we know very little about him during this period of his life. He was an admiral of the Turkish fleet. It would be very good if we could have details of his life. We only know that he had amassed enormous treasures and that his downfall occurred as a result of his being caught by the Egyptian Portuguese ships in the Persian Gulf. The Portuguese entered the gulf and it was impossible for him to escape with all the ships. So in the hope of saving his treasures he decided to leave his main force of ships near Basra and to escape with only three ships. One was lost, but with the other two he came safely to Egypt. The affair was reported to Istanbul and the Sultan ordered his execution in Cairo and his treasures were brought to Constantinople.

As for the Bahriye, when he prepared the second edition, the first edition was written on single leaves. In spite of the second

edition appearing, the first edition must then have been written in book form—we do not know at what time, but certainly during the life time of the author. The oldest dated manuscript, was finished the Bahriye of which we know, the Dresden manuscript, was finished in March 1554, which was still probably before Piri Re'is's death. If we compare the two editions of the Bahriye, there can be no doubt that in spite of the additions and improvements in the second edition, the first edition is much more homogeneous. It is for the most part a straight-forward translation of old sailing directories as Piri Re'is had found them. In the second edition Piri Re'is provides us with a loose mass of material which has not been unified. It is understandable that the first edition was used much more than the second one, and that we have more manuscripts of the first edition.

In the introduction to his book Piri Re'is mentions that he had earlier designed a map of the world which had incorporated the latest discoveries of his time in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. He tells us that he had presented the map to the Turkish Sultan Selim in Cairo, (in 1517) and that the Sultan had graciously accepted it. I decided to try to find the map when, in autumn 1929, I had to go to Istanbul on behalf of the German Oriental Society.

I met in Istanbul professor Deissmann of Berlin University who was occupied with the library treasurer of the old Seraglis and busy making a catalogue of the non-Muslim manuscripts. He had to deal with oriental manuscripts which he asked me to help him in describing. In this way I had an opportunity of entering the otherwise then inaccessible library of the Seraglio. One day, Deissmann, knowing my interest in old sea-maps, showed me a number of such maps which had been brought together and among them I found a magnificent map, painted in gay colours on parchment, which bore the inscription :

The author of this is the poor Piri b. Haji Muhammed, the nephew of Kemal Re'is, in Gallipoli—may God have mercy on them both—in the holy Muharram 919 (April 1513).

From the beginning I had no doubt that this was the very map I was looking for, the map presented by Piri Re'is to Selim in Cairo in 1517 : Selim had taken it to Istanbul, and it was in the palace of

the Sultans that it was found. It was a delightful surprise to find on it the Atlantic Ocean with the newly discovered America. It was especially valuable that Piri Re'is had indicated on it the sources which had formed the basis of the map. He informs us that he had at his disposal about 20 maps and mappamundi and mention in particular 8 Ptolemy maps, one Arabic map of the Indian Sea, 4 modern Portuguese maps and a map drawn by Columbus of the western world. He had reduced the different maps to the same scale and declares. As far as the maps of these regions are correct and reliable, so far is this map of the Seven Sea correct and reliable also.

The map found in the Seraglio is only the western section of the map drawn by Piri Re'is. The Eastern section is missing and has not been found. In the long Turkish inscription on the map we are told that the late Kemal Re'is had a Spanish slave (prisoner of war) who said Three times I travelled with Columbus to this territory. .. and the e follows a hitherto unknown account of the discovery of America which is of independent value I connot deal here with the whole map which is full of interest. I can only discuss that part of the map which is based on the map of Columbus. We have seen that in 1501 Kemal Re'is, accompanied by Piri Re'is, captured near Valencia seven Spanish ships which had returned from America. We may suppose that it was on this occasion that the Spaniard was taken prisoner who had been three times with Columbus in America, and at the same time also a map was seized which had been copied from a Columbus map. We know of only one map which had been sent to the Queen and King of Spain, the map which accompanied the letter he had written from Jamaica on his third voyage in 1498. We know that many copies of this map had been made and that, for instance, Amerigo Vespucci had sailed to America with its help. But no copy of this map has been preserved. When we examine the map of Columbus used by Piri Re'is for his map of the world, we find that it is so fantastic that we can understand the best friends of Columbus being anxious to destroy it. In Europe, already in 1500, a map of the world was made by Juan dela Cosa, which gave a comparatively correct picture of Central America, and in 1513, when-after the death of Kemal-Piri Re'is made a map of the world, nobody in Europe would have thought of using a map made by Columbus for the Central

American Islands. We must suppose that for Piri Re's the name of Columbus was of great authority and a map of his which had fallen into the hands of the Turks in 1501 could be used for a map of the world. For us this oldest map of America which has been preserved only by the Turks, is of very grand historical interest. The personality of the discoverer of America is surrounded for us by an intricate web of legends. In this map we have an excellent illustration of Columbus' ideas. I wish to mention here only three points¹. When Columbus came to Haiti, he was convinced that he had come to Cipango, Marco Polo's Japan, which was to be found on pre-Columbian maps, as for instance on the globus of Martin Behaim of 1492. Columbus gives Haiti in the form of Cipango with the ruins of Navidad, the first town founded by Columbus on his maiden voyage, and San Domingo the capital founded on his second voyage. We know that Cuba was regarded by Columbus as part of the mainland, and the remarkable act of June 12th 1494 is preserved, in which everyone in the three ships had to declare himself convinced that Cuba is mainland and anyone who should thereafter contradict this was threatened with the penalty of a fire amounting to 10,000 meravedi and the cutting out of his tongue. Now here on the map of Piri Re's Cuba is indeed a part of the mainland². We know too that when Columbus, on his third voyage, came to Trinidad, he saw the coast of South America, but the mouth of the Orinoco divides the coast and Columbus was led to take the South-American coast for islands. In his report on the third voyage he has furnished the names given to these islands. These islands are similarly marked on the map of Piri Re's. There can be no doubt that the map of Columbus used by Piri Re's is for us of great historical value as far as it illustrates some of the ideas of Columbus in a way which nobody believed possible.

تاریخ تصوف اسلام عہد نبی میں

او

بُشیر مخفی القادری

مسشرقی نورپ اور بعض اہل طاہر ارباب علم سے ابھی تحقیق میں اسلامی تاریخ و فلسفہ، عربی ادب و شاعری کے متعلق اکثر نہ حال طاہر کا ہے کہ عمر توبوں کی فلسفائی مساعی اور تعلقات کے مل حول سے اسلامی فلسفہ "تحمل و تصوف" کو بڑی حد تک اثر انداز کا ہے جسکی وجہ سے عہد نبی کے مانع ادوار میں بوناگی حکماء عسائیت، فلاطیوت، ندھست اور ویدائی بطریقات کے بعض مسائل سے رہاست، حلوب پسندی سے قومی رنگ پدا کر دیا۔ مذهبی تاریخ اور تاریخ اساس کے محققین اسلامی فلسفہ" و فکر پر عموم بطر رکھئے والے مصادر میں سے مشرقی علوم و معربی داشن و فکر کے دریعے سہامت عور و بصرت سے ان شہادت و حالات کا ندارک کا۔ حسن میں اسلامی فلسفہ و فکر اور تاریخ و تحقیق کے کام کرے والوں میں سے علامہ سد طفرالحسن، علامہ اقبال حکیم مشرق وحہ، علامہ شبلی نعمانی رحم مولانا علام محمد احمد ائمہ، حسین امر علی مرحوم، علامہ سد سلمان بدھی مرحوم رحہ، سعد دوق شاہ صاحب مرحوم، علامہ واصی محمد سلیمان صاحبو ز پوری مرحوم، سر سد مرحوم، علامہ محمد مسی کھنی چرنا کوٹی

وغیرہم جیسی مشہور شخصیتوں نے بہت اہم کارنامے انجام دئے ہیں۔ پاکستان تاریخ و ثقافت اور ہمہ کیر دانشمندانہ علمی حلقائیں کی بلند روایات کے تحفظ و اشاعت کا علمبردار ہے۔ علامہ اقبال رح و حضرت قائد اعظم رح کے مشہور خطبات و تقاریر میں اسلامی ثقافت و تاریخ کی اہمیت اور بعض مشرقی و مغربی مفکرین کے غلط نظریات کو تحقیق عدل و دانش، وسیع النظری، براہین و مشاہدات سے دور کرنے پر زور دیا گیا ہے۔

علامہ اقبال نے ڈاکٹر نکلسن کو اپنے طویل خط میں فلسفہ، اسرار خودی، انسان کامل، نظریہ زبان و مکان اور صوفیائے کرام کے بنیادی نظریات پر توجہ دلائی ہے!— ڈاکٹر نکلسن مولانا جلال الدین رومی رح جیسے شہرہ، آفاق بزرگ فلاسفہ اسلام اور مذہبی روحانی رہنماء سے عقیدت رکھنے والے اور تاریخ تصوف اسلام سے کافی دلچسپی رکھنے والے تھے۔ لیکن آن کی مشہور تصنیفات میں بھی مسلم حکما اور صوفیہ کے مسلم الشیوٰت قرآنی فکر کے عمیق نکات و حقایق کے سلسلے میں چند اہم غلط نظریات موجود ہیں۔ چنانچہ اس سلسلے میں حال ہی میں جناب ڈاکٹر شیخ عنایت اللہ صاحب نے اپنے مقالات میں ایک فرانسیسی مورخ و محقق کے تنقیدی چائزے اور تحقیقات کا ڈاکٹر نکلسن کے متعلق حوالہ دیا ہے۔ عربوں کے کارناموں اور فلسفیانہ، علمی، تحقیقی روحانی نظریات کی عام شہرت پر علمی دنیائے مغرب کا کثیر لٹریچر اور افکار ابتک موجود ہیں۔ حضرت امام غزالی رح، علامہ محی الدین ابن عربی رح، علامہ شیخ شہاب الدین سہروردی رح، علامہ ابن طفیل آنڈلسی وغیرہ مشاہیر مفکرین اسلام نے جن نظریات و فکر کو توحید، ذات، مقامات صفات و وحدانیت، حب و عشق، تحقیقی وجود و حیرت، اطاعت رسول ص اور جس قدر بھی عقائد توحید و تصوف اسلام پیش کئے ہیں اُسکی نظری اور اُسکا تسلسل بالیقین

عہد نبی کے مخصوص قرآنی فکر عہد صحابہ و تابعین اور ائمہ دین و محتدین وقت کی مفکراتہ ایمانی روحانی بصیرت میں انکے برع مثال تاریخ کی صورت میں صرور موجود و محفوظ ہے۔ اللہ نبو آسمہ و عباسہ کے ادوار سلطنت اور دیگر بعد کی کوئیں میں عربیوں کی دهات اور علمی فکری بلند نظری ہے بیوان و عرب و ہند مشرق و مغرب کے علم و فکر کو اپنی روپی سے سور کا اور فلسفیانہ حالات میں بعض اثرات مختل صوریوں سے ان مفکرین و میوریوں پر اثر انداز ہوتے۔ لیکن تاریخ کی عدل و نصرت، انصاف پرستی حصوں تاریخی فکر کی روشن حکمت ہے عہد نبی سے لکر آخر دور تک اس تاریخ تصوف و فلسفہ و اسلام و فکر کی حصوصت کو ہمہ قائم رکھا ہے اور سادی اساسی حشمت پر کسی بلاطوبی بیوانی، ویدائی اور بدنده مفلسفہ کے اثراں سے کوئی راطہ پیدا نہ کیا۔

تاریخ دہن و فکر اور قومی، ملی، روحانی، اسائی، احلاقی تعمیر میں حسقدار رہنمائی کرتی ہے وہ نعصت اور شدد نا محدود حشمت عصیت کی بروارڈ نہیں نہ حامی ہے جہاں تک اسلام کی تاریخ و حکمت اسایت کی عام خدمت اور فلسفہ و مذهب کا تعلق ہے قرآنی فکر و حکمت، داسن و عظمت میں انک آفاقی اور ہمہ گر فالج عالمہ کا نظریہ عدل و انصاف کی سرت و تاریخ کا عمل عہد نبی سے لیکر عہد حلقاتے راسدین رض و اہل ست رض اور بعد کی اہم روشن مثالوں سے ظاہر ہے اس لئے انصاف پسند مسخر و مخفق اور بلند نظر اہل فکر کو وحدان و نصرت، تصوف و فلسفہ روحانی فکر کی تلاش میں مفکرین و صوفیہ اسلام کی تاریخی خدمات و نظریات کو عہد نبی اور بعد کی اسلامی تاریخ میں بہت ہی معدود و بلند حشمت سرمایہ مل سکا ہے۔ تھوسائی کے عام ریور و اسرار یا مسائل اسائی آفاقی روحانی فکر کی طرح

لا محدود ہیں لیکن، جہاں تک بنیادی مسائل اور تاریخی مذہبی حیثیت کا تعلق ہے یعنی دور جدید و قدیم کے تحقیقی برائین و شواهد اور قرآنی فکر و حقائق سے آئے ایک مخصوص و معمول سرمایہ، تاریخ و فلسفہ و فکر و دانش تصور کرنے ہیں۔ اس موضوع پر علامہ اقبال رح نے اپنی تصنیف "فلسفہ عجم" میں بعض ائمہ تاریخی حقائق پیش کئے ہیں۔

معنوی معتقدین و مورخین اور مستشرقین نے ان علوم و تاریخ پر بہت کچھ لکھا اور آج بھی دلچسپی کا اظہار کر رہے ہیں لیکن دیکھا جاتا ہے کہ اکثر ایسے مسائل میں وہ بہت سی غلط فہمیوں اور غلط نظریات کو پیش کرتے ہیں، شعیں آئیں ہے کہ ایسی کوششوں سے "پاکستان تاریخ کانفرنس" کے ذریعے عميق نظر و تحقیق سے جائزہ لے کر ہمارے اپنے اسلاف اور اپنی قومی تاریخی مذہبی روایات کے تحفظ و اشاعت کا فرض پذیری ادا کیا جائیکا۔ اس سلسلے میں اپنی ناچیز تصنیف "عرفان اقبال اور افادات نیازی" کے چند خاص اشارات موضوع و مقصد کی حیثیت سے پیش کرتا ہوں تاکہ مغرب و مشرق بلاد اسلامی اور ایشیا کے علمی تاریخی، ثقافتی، روحانی کارناموں سے دلچسپی لینے والے اس فکر و تحقیق سے لطف اندوز ہوں اور تاریخ کانفرنس کے مقاصد میں یہ نظریہ بھی لائق اہمیت و توجہ ثابت ہو اس موضوع پر مجھے ناچیز نے خاص طور پر منصب شدہ تصنیف "چند جرعات روی رح اور اقبال رح" میں ہستہ کانفرنس کے لئے چند گزارشات پیش کی ہیں۔ "اسلامک مسٹر سینرم اور تھیوساف" کی تاریخ میں بہت اہم فکری، ذہنی، روحانی فلسفیانہ اور ثقافتی علمی مسائل حفظ ہیں جن سے عام انسانیت مستفیض ہو سکتی ہے۔ جس میں حکما و مفکرین اسلام کی روشن دماغی اور قلبی وجود ای بصیرت و فکر کا قیمتی سرمایہ موجود ہے۔

عہد سوی کے مخصوص قرآنی فکر عہد صحابہ و تابعن اور ائمہ دین و محتسبین وقف کی مفکرانہ انسانی روحانی نصیرت میں انکے بے مثال تاریخ کی صورت میں صرور موجود و محفوظ ہے۔ اللہ بنو آسمہ و عباسیہ کے ادوار سلطنت اور دنگر عہد کی کوسنوں میں عربیوں کی دھاٹ اور علمی فکری بلند بطری میں بوناں و عرب و هند مشرق و مغرب کے علم و فکر کو اسی روپی سے سور کیا اور فلسفہ اسلام میں بعض اثرات مختلف صورتوں سے ان مفکرین و مورخین پر اثر انداز ہوئے۔ لیکن تاریخ کی عدل و نصرت، انصاف برستی حصوصاً فرآئی فکر کی روشن حکمت سے عہد سوی سے لکھ آحر دور تک اس تاریخ نصوف و فلسفة و اسلام و فکر کی حصوصت کو ہمسہ قائم رکھا ہے اور سادی اسلامی حشمت پر کسی ولاطوبی بونای، ویدا سی اور بدھ میں فلسفة کے اثرات ہے کوئی رابطہ پیدا نہ کیا۔

تاریخ دهن و فکر اور فوپی، بلى، روحانی، اسلامی، احلاقی تعمیر میں حسقدار رہنمائی کرتی ہے وہ بعض اور شدد نا محدود حشمت عصمت کی بروزدہ نہیں نہ حامی ہے جہاں تک اسلام کی تاریخ و حکمت اسلامیت کی عام خدمات اور فلسفة و مذهب کا تعلق ہے قرآنی فکر و حکمت، دانس و عظمت میں انک آفاقی اور ہمہ گمراх عامہ کا بطریقہ عدل و انصاف کی سرب و تاریخ کا عمل عہد سوی سے لیکر عہد حلقات راسدین رضواہل سرسچ اور عہد کی اہم روشن مثالوں سے طاهر ہے اس لئے انصاف پسند صبر و مختلق اور بلند بطری اہل فکر کو وحدان و نصرت، نصوف و فلسفة روحانی فکر کی تلاس میں مفکرین و صوفیہ اسلام کی تاریخی خدمات و بطریات کو عہد سوی اور عہد کی اسلامی تاریخ میں نہت ہی معید و بلند حشمت سرمایہ مل سکتا ہے۔ تھیوساں کے عام رہمو و اسرار نا مسائل اسلامی آفاقی روحانی فکر کی طرح

لا عددود شیں لیکن، جہاں تک بینادی مسائل اور قاربی مذہبی حیثیت کا تعلق ہے ہم دور جدید و قدیم کے سنتی راہنماء شواهد اور قرآنی فکر و حفاظت سے آئے ایک مخصوص درجہ سرمایہ، تاریخ و فلسفہ و فکر و دانش تصور کرنے ہیں۔ اس موضوع پر علامہ اقبال رہ نے انہی نصیف "فتنہ" (۱۹۴۰ء) میں بخش اعماق تاریخی حفاظت پیش کئے ہیں۔

مغولی حکومتیں و مورخین اور مستشرقوں نے ان علمی، تاریخی پر بہت کچھ لکھا اور آج بھی نہیں کہ اپنے زمانے میں لیکن دیکھنا جانا ہے کہ اُنہاں سے مسائل میں وہ بہت سی خدش فہمیوں اور غاظ نظریات کو بیش کرنے ہیں، جسیں تمدی نہ ایسی کوششوں سے "باقستان تاریخ کانفرنس" کے ذریعے عمت نظر و تحقیق سے جائز لئے گئے ہمارے ایسے اسلام اور اپنی اوسی تاریخی مذہبی روایات کے تحفظ و اکیاں کیا تھیں پھریں ادا کیا جائیکا۔ اس سلسلے میں اپنی ناجیز تصنیف "عرزان انبال اور افادات نیازی"، کے جند خاص اشارات میخویں و مندرجہ کی حیثیت سے پیش کرتا ہوں ناکہ مغرب و مشرق بالآخر اسلامی اور ایسا کے علمی تاریخی، ثقافتی، روحانی کارنامیوں سے ناجیزی لینے والے اس فکر و تحقیق سے لطف اندوڑ ہوں اور تاریخ کانفرنس کے مقاصد میں یہ نظریہ بھی لائق اعتماد و توجہ ناپت ہو اس پوضوع پر مجبہ ناجیز نے خاص طور پر مرتب شدہ تصنیف "جند جرعات روسی رہ اور اقبال رہ"، میں ششیٰ کانفرنس کے لئے جند گزارشات پیش کی ہیں۔ "اسلامک مسٹر سینٹر اور تیبیسانی" کی تاریخ میں بہت اہم فکری، ذہنی، روحانی فلسفیازہ اور ثقافتی علمی مسائل محفوظ ہیں جن سے عام انسانیت مستثیض ہو سکتی ہے۔ جس میں حکما و مفکرین اسلام کی روشن دماغی اور قلبی وجودی بصیرت و فکر کا قیمتی سرمایہ موجود ہے۔

تاریخ و ادب وقہ کے دھارے کو صحیح سُم بدلانے اور قومی، انسانی، احلاقی عظم کی تعمیر و تشکیل میں مدد و معاون ہوتا ہے اور وہ بصیرت عدل و تحقیقی انصاف و سعی الطری کا سبی دینا ہے اس لئے ہمارا فرض ہے کہ ہمارے اسلام و اکابر کی ان روایات کی اصلی اور حقیقی صحیح و صاف روشن حثیث کامل تحقیقی سے پس کریں ۔

مشہور مورخ اور ساح عالم علامہ سیح ان بوطہ نے اپنے سفر نامہ "عجائب الاسعار" کی پہلی حلقہ میں طرانس، اسکندریہ، قسطنطینیہ، مصر، سنت المقدس، حل، شام، دمشق، بغداد، عراق، عجم، بحرین، اشیائی کوچک، تھارا، ماوراء النهر، حراسان، بیشا پور، افغانستان، پنجاب و سندھ اور دوسری حلقہ میں ملتان، دہلی، سگال، گجرات، مالا نار، حرائر مالدیب، لنکا، جزائر ہند حبی و حسن، ایران و سوڈان وغیرہ کے ذکر میں مختلف ممالک کے نامی جغرافیائی حصوصیاں کے ساتھ صدھا اولیاء اللہ، عارفان حدا، علماء، صلحاء، محدود و سالکین اور آن کے سلاسل و کرامات و علیمات روحانی تبلیغ کے واقعات کا حال چشمید لکھا ہے جس کے کئی انگریزی درجے انگلستان کی لائبریریوں اور یوبیوریشنوں میں موجود ہیں ۔ اس کتاب کی تعمیل میں لکھا ہے کہ "ان بوطہ نے آئھوں صدی ہجری میں سیاح کی ہے اور ہر ملک کے معقول حالات قلمد کئی ہیں" ۔

دہ سفر نامہ اپنی نوعیت میں یکتا ہے ۔ اس کے مطالعہ سے پتہ چلتا ہے اب سے چھہ سو برس پہلے ہندوستان اور سرون ہندوستان کے ناشدؤں کا تمدن و معاشرت کیا بہا اور اب کیا ہے ۔ عیر ملکیوں سے احتلاط و ارتناط اور تھارت بڑھائے سے ہو مدد کسی قوم کی تهدیہ اور اسکی علوہمتی کو پہنچتی ہے اسکا ال

سلکوں کی اس حالت سے جو اپنے بسطو طہ نے آئیں مددی کے وہاں
میں بیان کیا ہے خوب واضح ہوتا ہے۔ اپنے عالی شدت میانے
ستائیں الیائیں بوس تک ہوانی دنیا کے تمام آباد حصوں کے سفر
کیا ہے۔ دوسری جلد کا ترجمہ جناب خانہ بہادر بیربزادہ مونیری
محمد حسین صاحب ایم۔ اے۔ می۔ آئی۔ ای۔ ریڈنگز
شن چچ دھلی نے فاشلانہ اور میورخانہ حیثیت سے پہنچاں انداز
میں کیا ہے۔ اور مقدمہ میں مختلف عنوانات کے تحت اسلامی
تمہاریب کے تنزل کے اسباب، تجارت، اپنے بسطوں کی میانہت علوی عقیقی
کا تذکرہ صوفیہ اور فقرا کی تبلیغ، اسلامی تمہاریب کے سراکنہ
خصوصی، اسلام کے میانے اور جغرافیہ کے مختلف تاریخ اسلام میں
مسلمانوں کے تنزل و باشمنی دیکار و انتشار کا حوالہ اپنے بسطوں کے
مشر نامہ اور تاریخی تنقید بہ بہت کچھ نکیا ہے۔ بیربزادہ سیرزا
ارشد شوردنی دعلوی سرحدوں کے مختلف تصانیف کے متعلق تاریخی
قطعات بھی شامل ہیں۔ اپنے بسطوں شہرو (ناس) میں اکشن میں
پہنچ کر سلطان ابو عنان رح (۱) سے سنا۔ ویہ میں ملاجی ہوتا
ہے۔ وہ لکھتا ہے کہ ”خدا کی عنایت سے اس بادشاہ میں تمام
اوصاف مجتمع ہیں سلطان عراق سے زیادہ اس میں غیبت، بادشاہ
ہند سے زیادہ اس میں حسن اور بادشاہ یمن سے زیادہ اس میں
خوش خلقی اور بادشاہ ترک سے زیادہ اس میں بہادری اور شاہ روم
سے زیادہ اس میں حلم اور بادشاہ ترکستان سے زیادہ اس میں
دینداری اور شاہ جاوا سے زیادہ اس میں علم ہے۔ علم کا شوق
امیر المؤمنین کو اسقدر ہے کہ ہر روز صبح کی نماز کے بعد محل کی
مسجد میں ایک مجلس علمی منعقد ہوتی ہے بڑے فقیہ اور

۱ - سراکو یونیورسٹی میں حال ہی میں اس سلطان کی بعض قلمی
دستاویزات ایک قدیمی کھنڈر اور مسجد کی کھدائی سے حاصل کی
گئی ہیں۔ (اخبار ڈان کراچی)

طالب علم اس میں سامنے ہوتے ہیں - نفسِ حدیث اور فقہ مالکی اور علم تصوف پر بحث ہوتی ہے۔ ہر ایک طالب علم میں اس قدر استعداد ہے کہ وہ مشکل مشکل مقامات کو اپنے ذہن خدا داد کی تیزی سے حل کر دیتا ہے اور عجیب عجیب نکتے اپنے حافظہ کی مدد سے تلا دیتا ہے۔ استادِ علم کا سوق ائمہ دین اور خلفائے راشدین کے سوا اور کسی کو نہیں ہوا۔ نادشاه ہندوستان بھی علم دوست ہے لیکن آسکی مجلس میں جو صبح کے بعد ہوتی ہے فقط علم معمولات پر بحث ہوا کرتی ہے اور نادشاه حاوی کی مجلس میں فقط فقہ، شافعی پر بحث ہوتی ہے جب میں نے نادشاه ترکستان کو مغرب، عشاں، صبح کی نمازِ حماعت کے سانہ پڑھتے دیکھا تو مجھے تعجب ہوا تھا لیکن امیر المؤمنین پانچوں وقت کی نمازِ حماعت کے ساتھ مسجد میں پڑھتے ہیں اور رمضان کی نزاوجیع بھی حماعت کے ساتھ پڑھتے ہیں۔ ان حزی لکھتا ہے "کہ کوئی عالم جسکو رات دن علم پڑھنے اور پڑھانے کا سغل ہو امیر المؤمنین کے علم کو نہیں پہسچتا۔ ناوجودیکہ امیر المؤمنین کو ملک اور سیاست لڑائی وغیرہ کے کاموں سے دہت کم فرصت ملتی ہے لیکن آسکی مجلس میں کبھی ایسے مسئلہ کا ذکر نہیں آتا کہ عام لوگ اس کے سمجھنے سمجھاہی سے عاجز ہو گئے ہوں لیکن امیر المؤمنین نے اس کو حل نہ کر دیا ہو علم تصوف کی جانب امیر المؤمنین کی حاصل توجہ ہے وہ اہل تصوف کے اشاراب کو حوب سمجھتا ہے آن کے احلاق کی پریوی کرتا ہے، چنانچہ آسک تواضع اور رعایا کی دلسوzi اس کی گواہ ہے" امیر المؤمنین نے ایک قاصد اور دو قاصدیے روپہ منورہ میں بھیجیں اور آن قاصدیوں کو اپنے دست حاصل سے لکھا جس کی حوش خطی کے سامنے پہول بھی سرمندہ ہوتے ہیں۔ اور یہ فخر کسی نادشاه کو حاصل نہیں ہوا۔ بلاعت اور فصاحت کا بدحال ہے کہ حکومت فرمان حاری ہوتے ہیں

آن کے پڑھنے سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس بادشاہ کو خدا نے قدرتی ملکہ بخشا ہے اور آس نے تعلیم سے بھی اسکو تکمیل کی حد تک پہنچایا ہے خیرات کا یہ حال ہے کہ اپنے تمام ملک میں صدقے خانے جاری کئے ہیں اور جگہ جگہ خانقاہیں تعمیر کی ہیں ۔

فاضل مترجم ”عجائب الاسفار“ لکھتے ہیں کہ ”یہ شہر پہلے مراکو کا دارالخلافہ تھا بحیرہ روم کے کنارے سے ۸۵ میل اندر کی طرف واقع ہے سنہ ۹۳ھ میں اس شہر کو امیر ادريس نے آباد کیا تھا یہ شہر اپنے باغات اور مدرسون کے لئے مشہور ہے اس شہر میں ایک مسجد ہے جس میں تین سو ستوں ہیں اس مسجد کے ایک برج میں نقشہ کرہ، ارض اور دیگر آلات ہیئت جو قدیم زمانہ میں مستعمل تھے رکھے ہوئے ہیں ۔ ہسپیتال بھی اس شہر میں ہے شمار ہیں اس خاندان نے مغرب میں دو سو اٹھائیس برس تک حکومت کی ہے ۔“

یہ ہے تاریخ اسلام اور اسلامی تہذیب و تمدن اور دور ماضی کا درخشاں ورق اسلام کی علمی برکتوں کی نورانی تصویر جو مغرب کے ایک دور افتادہ علاقے میں بے کمال صداقت نظر آتی ہے :

دل کو تڑپاتی ہے اب تک گرسی محفل کی یاد
جل چکا حاصل مگر محفوظ ہے حاصل کی یاد
(ابوال)

در حقیقت یہ سب کچھ علم نواز تاجدار مدینہ کا تصدق ہے آپ نے عربوں کی کایا پلٹی اور جہالت کا نشان مٹایا جہاں بیسی، جہاں بانی، اخلاق و حکمت، انسانیت و رحمت و شفقت کی دعوت دے کر خلافت الہیہ اور اعلائے کلمہ ”الحق کی بنیاد قائم کی ۔ یہ اسی پیکر صداقت و حقیقت کے فیوض و برکات ہیں اور اس عالم گیر

رحمت والی سید و مرتکاری علم پروری کے انمٹ نقوش و اثرات
میں مولانا حالی نے سچ فرمایا ہے :-

وہ بھلی کا کڑکا تھا یا صوت ہادی
عرب کی زمین جس نے ساری ہلا دی
ئی اک لگن دل میں سب کے لگا دی
اک آواز میں سوتی بستی جگا دی
پڑا ہر طرف غل یہ پیغام حق سے
کہ گونج آئھے دشت و جبل نام حق ہے

جن لوگوں کی نظر میں صرف ایران یا پرشیا کا مسئلے سیزم (Mysticism) اور تھیوسافی ہی ہے وہ ذرا تاریخ کی اس عربیان حقیقت کو ز بھی دیکھیں، یہ اسلامی تصوف کے عروج و ارتقا کی ایک مختصر سی داستان ”رہبانیت“، اور ”یونانیت“، ویدانت اور بدھ مت فلاسفی کو ”حکمت فنا و بقا“ کا پیامبر سمجھنے والوں کے لئے تصوف اسلام کو اکابر اعظم کی پالیٹکس اور ”دین الہی“ سے ترقی باقاعدہ کہنے والوں کے لئے دعوت فکر و نظر ہے کیا اسلام کا عالمگیر قیض مشرق و مغرب تک نہیں پہنچا تھا؟ آج جس کے اثرات مختلف صورتوں میں ہمیں دنیا کے مختلف ممالک میں نظر آ رہے ہیں ”کیا نانک کبیر اور ایسے دوسرے انسانیت پسند لوگوں نے اسلام کے فقرا اور صلحاء کی صحبتوں سے فیضیابی کا فخر نہیں پایا؟ اس کا جواب تاریخ کے اوراق ہر وقت دے سکتے ہیں“ ”تصوف اور روحانیت“، قرآنی نظام کے ظاہر و باطن کے اسرار و حقائق کا نام ہے - باقی ذہنی اور فکری ترویج و ارتقا میں لٹریبری اثرات صرف تعلیم و مشاهدات کے کام ہیں - قرب الہی کے مقاصد کا عمل اپنی نوعیت خصوصی کے لحاظ سے منفرد ہے اور یہاں آکر علم کے تمام ذرائع فنا ہو کر بقا کی دعوت عشق سے ہمکنار ہوتے ہیں -

اپنی خبر انہیں کھہاں جن په کھلا ہے راز عشق
سارے شعور مٹ گئے جب ہوا امتیاز عشق
بیدم

اسی لئے حضرت اقبال فرماتے ہیں :-

رشتهٗ عشق از نسب محکم تر است
عشق در جان و نسب در پیکر است

جب ہم قرآن پاک کے اسرار و معارف و حقائق
و رسویں کسی صاحب دل اور صاحب نظر کی وساطت سے معلوم
کریں گے تو تصوف و روحانیت کے سچے مشاہدات جلوہ افروز ہونگے -
اور ”و علم الادم آسماء کاها و انى جا عل فى الارض خليفه“
کی عمیق عرفان آموز حقیقتوں کا راز افشا ہوگا - اقبال کے
مرشد معنوی پیر آدم رح صوفیوں کے سرتاج و یگانہ عصر رہنمای
یہ ارشاد گرامی ہماری رہبری کے لئے کافی ہے

چیست قرآن حالہائے انبیا
ما بیان بحر پاک کبریا
حرف قرآن رامدان کہ ظاہر است
زیر ظاہر با طنز ہم قاهر است
زیر آن باطن یکے لطفے دگر
خیرہ گردد اندران فکر و نظر

علامہ اقبال نے ”اسرار خودی“، کے دیباچہ میں لکھا ہے کہ ”بدھ مت،
ایرانی تصوف اور اسی طرح کے دوسرے نظامہائے اخلاق گو
ہمارے مقصد کے مطابق نہیں لیکن وہ بالکل بیکار بھی نہیں ہیں
کیونکہ شدید جد و جہد کے بعد کچھ وقت کے لئے ہمیں مسکن
اور خواب اور چیزوں کی ضرورت ہے“، میں سمجھتا ہوں علامہ
نے ان نظامہائے اخلاق کا تجزیہ تحقیق سے کر کے دیکھ لیا

ہوگا کہ ”اسلامی تصوف“ کے ابدی سکون و راحت اور جد و جہد، جہد کی تعلیم اور عرفان و معرفت کے اصول و نصب العین میں کیا امتیازی و بنیادی تصورات ہیں اور کس طرح آنھیں فکر و نظر کے لئے مختلف نظام کی فلسفائی تشکیل دی جانی ہے جنانچہ اقبال رہ ڈاکٹر نکلسن کو اپنے خط میں لکھتے ہیں کہ ”بقدسمتی سے اہل مغرب اسلامی فلسفے کی تعلیم سے نا آسنائے محض ہیں۔ اے کاش مجهیے استدر فرصلت ہوتی کہ میں اس موضوع پر ایک مضبوط کتاب لکھ کر مغربی فلسفیوں کو اس حققت سے روشناس کرا دیتا کہ مختلف قوموں کے فلسفیانہ خیالات ایک دوسرے سے کس قدر مشابہ ہیں“، ڈاکٹر نکلسن نے اسلام کے سنتے سیزم، انتخاب شمس الدین تبریزی رہ، مشنواری مولانا روم رہ، دی لگسی آف اسلام ”تاریخ عربی ادب“، میں تاریخ تصوف اسلام کو عہد نبوی، عہد خلفائے راشدین و تابعین اور قرآن کریم سے ایک علیحدہ حداگانہ نظام ثابت کرتے ہوئے چند غلط نظریات بہش کثیر حس پر مولانا غلام محمد ایم۔ اے۔ ایم۔ ایل۔ او۔ (عربی) مولانا ذوقی شاہ صاحب مرحوم علامہ سید سلیمان ندوی وغیرہ نے تنقید و برائیں سے محققانہ تصانیف مرتب کیں اور مضامین بھی لکھے۔ اسی سلسلے میں نا چیز نے ایک کتاب ”چند جرعات روی اور اقبال“، تاریخ رود کوثر پر ایک نظر، مرتب کی ہے۔

تاریخ عقلیات، منطق، یونانی اشراقیت و یونانی حکما کے ادوار سے آگے تاریخ کی روشنی بھی گم ہو جاتی ہے۔ اور ہم کو مذہبی تاریخ حکمت قرآنی و تصانیف قدیمه کے صحیح خد و خال کی تحقیق سے رہنمائی ہوتی ہے، یہ کتاب طبع ہونے والی ہے۔ اس حگہ محتصر اقتباس پیش کرتا ہوں تاکہ تاریخ کانفرنس کے فاضل زعاماً و محققین اسلامی تاریخ و حکمت کے تابندہ نقوش کو زیادہ سے زیادہ آھاگر کرنے میں اپنی مساعی سے تعاون کریں۔! ”چند جرعات

رومی اور اقبال رد، سے چند اقتباسات : ”تصوف اسلام کی تاریخ کا جہاں تک امکانی طور پر مجھ نا چیز نے مطالعہ کیا ہے میرا یہ تحقیقی نظریہ ہے کہ حکماء یونان (اشراقیین و مشائین) نے بھی عہد ساضیہ آدم سابقہ انبیائے سابقین سے بھی فائدہ حاصل کیا ہے۔ گو وہ نظام نبوت و الشہامی دعوت اور حکمت ایمانی کے صحیح معنوں میں قائل و پیرو نہ ہوئے لیکن آن کے حکیمانہ نظریات و تعلیمات و تاریخی کارناموں کو حکما نے بھی مانا ہے۔ اس سلسلے میں میرا ایک مقالہ ”تصوف اسلام“، اور دوسرا مقالہ ”مستشرقین یورپ کی تحقیق پر ایک نظر“ طبع ہونے والے ہیں۔ جن میں تاریخی اسناد سے اس تحقیق کو ثابت کیا ہے۔ فاضل مصنف ”القا“الہام و وحی“، نے ہستری آف فلاسفی الفرید ویبر سے افلاطون کے متعلق ایک حوالہ دیا ہے جس سے صاف ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ عہد عتیق کے صحائف قدیم سے حکما نے بھی استفادہ کیا ہے تاریخ انبیائے کرام اور مختلف داعیان الہی کے متعلق قرآن کریم اور اسلامی روایات کے مطابق بڑا ذخیرہ ہمارے پاس ہے ! ”وان من قریبہ“ الا خلا فیہا، انسانیت کی قدیم تاریخ جہاں تک پائی جاتی ہے وہاں ان ہستیوں کے بمارک مشن اور آن کے اخلاقی، علمی، روحانی، تاریخی کارناموں کا مختلف صورتوں سے ہدایت و تبلیغ اور تعلیمات الہی کے معارف و حقائق کا حال معلوم ہوتا ہے ۔

بابل و روما یونان و ایتھنز، فلسطین، مصر و ہند، عراق و عجم پاکستان وغیرہ کے مختلف تاریخی کھنڈرات و آثار قدیمه میں آن کی عظیم روایات کے نقوش عبرت و بصیرت کا سبق پیش کرتے ہیں۔ مختلف قوموں کے عروج و زوال میں تاریخ کے بکھرے اوراق تہذیب و انسانیت کے مختلف کروٹوں کے اثرات نمایاں کرتے ہیں ”تواریخ خورشید جہاں“، فارسی اور تاریخ ”روضہ الصفا“، میں یہ حقیقت ظاہر نظر آتی ہے ! جن کو حکماء یونان نے بھی معلم اول

اور استاد علوم و فنون و حکمت و فلسفہ ریاضیات، فن کیمیا و اسرار حقائق تسلیم کر لیا۔ عہد عباسیہ کی علم پروری و حکمت دوستی نے ”فلسفہ یونانی“ کی بوسیدہ گمنام عظمت کو زندہ کیا۔ ہارون و مامون الرشید کے ان علمی کارناموں کا اعتراف خود مورخین یورپ کرچکے ہیں۔ اس دور سے کچھ آگے اسیں و آندریس کے دارالحکمت الحکم وغیرہ کے عہد میں عربی فلاسفہ و حکماء کے کارنامے نظر آتے ہیں۔ الغزالی رحم جیسی شخصیت اور نظام الملک کی علمی موشگاں یونان نے فلسفہ یونان پر وہ تنقیدی و تحقیقی نظر ڈالی کہ آن کی غلطیوں کو دور کیا اور اپنے ایک جداگانہ ”اسلامی فلسفیانہ نظام“ کی بنیاد استوار کی جن سے اسلامی علم نوازی اور علمی سربرستی کا زبردست تاریخی دور وابستہ ہے۔ مسٹر پاسر فاضل^۱ مستشرق یورپ استاد عربی کیمبرج یونیورسٹی نے اپنی تصنیف ”الہارون“ میں گو بعض جگہ مختلف غلط فہمیوں کا اظہار کیا ہے تاہم اس عہد کی عظمت و علم دوستی پر وہ ہمدردانہ خیالات پیش کرنے پر مجبور ہونے ہیں اور تاریخی حقائق کو پوشیدہ نہ کر سکتے۔

اسی کتاب میں یورپ کے ایک مورخ الزیستہ بوج صاحب اپنی ”تاریخ ہندوستان“ میں لکھتے ہیں کہ ”اسلام کے پہلے تاریخ کی حالت تاریکی میں تھی۔ جب اسلام کا سرچشمہ نمودار ہوا تو اس وقت تاریخ کے صحیح حالات معلوم ہونے لگے۔ مطلب یہ ہے کہ تاریخ کی ترقی دینے والے مسلمان ہی ہیں،“ (الہارون صفحہ ۹ مسٹر پاسر - ایم - اے - لندن) ان انتباhtات ”عرفان اقبال اور آفادات نیازی چند جرعات رومی رہ اور اقبال“ سے واضح طور پر معلوم ہوگا کہ عہد خلفائے راشدین و عہد نبوی اور عہد انبیاء سبقین میں تصور اسلام تاریخ اور اس کے عارفانہ

۱۔ تواریخ خورشید جہاں - اسرار حقیقت اجو دھیا میں اسلامی نظارہ مصنعہ منشی اچھمی نرامن -

وجدانی مسائل اپنی مخصوص بالاصلات حیثیت سے موجود ہے۔ وہ جس قدر اخلاق و جہاد، سیاست، علم و معرفت، تجارت، معاشرت میں پاکیزہ معاشرہ و تمدن رکھتے تھے آسی روشنی میں تاریخ تصوف اسلام اور عرفان و معرفت خداوندی کے ذوق شوق پاکیزہ اعمال میں ان اکابر نے اسلام کی ظاہری باطنی عمارت کی تعمیر کی ہے اور مختلف عہد میں حسب ضرورت اخافے بھی ہوتے رہے۔ لیکن وہ اصلاح و ضوابط اور حکمت قرآنی قانون اسلام ہی کی ظاہری باطنی حکمت سے معمور تھے۔ ان مسائل کو ایران، عجم، بغداد، عرب، ایشیا، مغرب کے دوسرے خطوط میں اگر کچھ بظاہر مختلف قوموں کی فلسفیانہ تخیلات سے کوئی میل جوں ہوتا بھی رہا ہو تو بھی ”تاریخ تصوف اسلام“ کی شاندار قدیم تاریخی عظمت اور قرآنی فکر کی بلندی سے کوئی جداگانہ حیثیت اس تاریخ کو نہیں ملی جبکہ مصلحین امت کے اصلاحی کارناموں نے ہمیشہ اس تاریخ اور قانون اسلام کی حفاظت پر اپنا عمل جاری رکھا جسکا واضح نمونہ سیرت غزالی رح، سیرت مولانا روم رح، سیرت داتا گنج بخش رح لاہوری، سیرت حضرت غوث اعظم مسیح الدین رح جیلانی اور تاریخ عظمت حقائق و فلسفہ علامہ مسیح الدین ابن عربی شیخ اکبر رضی عطیہ اور مقالات حضرت خواجہ بزرگ احمدیری رض، مقاصد سید سالار مسعود غازی چشتی رح جیسے اکابر کی سوانح و تعلیمات بلند و بالا فکر و خیالات میں آج بھی ظاهر اور دعوت فکر دے رہا ہے۔ ہم مستشرقین یورپ کی تحقیقی خدمت اور تصوف اسلام سے ربط و دوستی کے قائل ہیں لیکن غلط نظریات و خیالات کی اصلاح و تدارک اور اپنی قومی، ملی، تاریخی روایات کے تحفظ نیز وسعت و اشاعت کے لئے ہر ممکن مساعی کو عمل میں لانا بھی وقت کے لئے ایک فریضہ انسانیت سمجھتے ہیں۔ اور یقیناً مختلف قوموں کی علم دوستی، انصاف دوستی

ہی فلسفہ و اخلاق، تاریخ و ادب اور انسانیت کی ترویج و ارتقا میں روح حقیقت بتی ہے۔ آمید ہے کہ تاریخ کانفرنس کے اس اجتماع میں ان ناچیز خیالات کو پسند کیا جائیگا۔

SHAH QASIM KHAN BEG-LAR AND HIS BURIAL PLACE

By

Dr. N. A. Baloch

Shah Qasim Khan is the renowned hero of the Arghun-Turkhan period of Sind History. The main purpose of this article is to bring to light the burial place of Shah Qasim Khan and other members of his family which the writer discovered on 10-6-53 for the first time. Before, however, referring to this historical Graveyard of the Beg-Lars, a brief notice of Shah Qasim Khan's biography seems to be pertinent.

Shah Qasim belonged to the Beg-Lar family of the Arghuns,¹ who after their first residence at Turmuz for many years, came to live in Samarcand from where they began to migrate to Sind. His father, Mir Sayyid Qasim Beg, came to Sind from Samarcand during the reign of Shah Husain Arghun (928—961 A.H./1522—1554 A.D.) and was received with distinction. During his governorship of Umarkote, he married the niece of Rana Kumba Wairsi of Umarkote. Shah Qasim was born of this marriage. Shah Qasim first distinguished himself in the service of Shah Husain Arghun.

"He then served successively Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Jan Baba, Mirza Muhammad Baki, and Mirza Jani Beg. When this chief went

1. Elliot tends to doubt the Beg Lars being an Arghun family. According to him, the Beg-lars came to be called Arghuns, because of their ancestral connections with the Arghuns (vide Elliot I/289). Contemporary evidence does not support this view. Not only in *Beglar-Nama* but also in *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (Elliot I/pp. 263,287), Shah Qasim Khan is referred to as 'Arghun'. The poet 'Idraki' in his *Chanesar-Namah* refers to Shah Qasim Khan, the father of the poet's patron Abul-Qasim, as 'Arghun'.

بود شہ را پدر درپیش افزوں - بھادر شاہ قاسم خان ارغون

The inscriptions on all the graves in the Beg-Lar Graveyard invariably mention every deceased as 'Arghun'.

to render his submission to the Emperor Akbar, Khan-i-Zaman (Shah Qasim) accompanied him, and was received with favour. He was afterwards nominated to an appointment in Sind under Mirza Ghazi Beg, and lived to an old age in that country, surrounded by a large and thriving family."

The above account summarily taken from Elliot (I/290-91), can be read in details in a work entitled by the author as '*Beg Lar Namah*', after his patron Shah Qasim Khan Beg-Lar who was more widely known by his famous title of "Khan-i-Zaman". The author mentions that in 1017 A.H. his patron was 70 years old. This reference has confused Elliot,¹ but now the discovery of Shah Qasim Khan's grave on which the year of his death is given 1019 A.H., clearly confirms the authenticity of the above statement which, in turn, indicates that Shah Qasim Khan died at the age of 72, just two years before the death of Mirza Ghazi Beg (Qandhar 1021 A.H.)

His two sons, Mir Abul Qasim Sultan and Mir Shah Muqim Sultan, were equally famous and played an important part in the local politics of their times. Mir Abul Qasim Sultan was famous for his valour and courage on the battlefields and was also a man of literary talents. He was the patron of the poet, Idraki, who composed '*Chanesar Namah*' covering the local Sindhi romance of 'Lila Chanesar', and dedicated this '*Chanesar Namah*' to Mir Abul Qasim Sultan. Mir Abul Qasim frequently rebelled against the ruling authority, was pardoned through the intercession of his father, but was finally blinded to prevent him from exciting any further rebellions. Mir Shah Muqim Sultan assisted his father in the local politics of the Sodhas of Umarkote.

Among the exploits of Shah Qasim "Khan-i-Zaman" which are mentioned by the author of the *Beg-Lar Namah*, his mission to Rai Dhar Raj of Jesalmir, his plunder of Tarangchi in the Sodha country (the modern Tharparkar District of Sind), and his diplomatic connections with the Chiefs of Umarkote, Jesalmir-Bikanir, Sirohi, Marwar, Kotara and Gauduwar, stand out prominent.

Shah Qasim 'Khan-i-Zaman', we learn from *Beg-Lar Namah*, had his headquarters at Nasarpur from where he ruled the people by kindness and justice. Later on, it seems he, peopled and settled the

¹ Vide Volume 1, p 291

country round the Fort of Sayyid-Garh, the building of which he completed in 1011 A.H. We do not know the whereabouts of the Sayyid-Garh Fort, but it appears that the ruins of a fort on the eastern side of Shikh Miso village just three miles north of Tando Allahyar, are those of the Sayyid-Garh Fort. This seems probable because the ruined fort is in the vicinity of Nasarpur, few miles to the east of it; secondly that the fort is still known as "Abul-Jotote" i.e. the Fort of Abul, perhaps having been renamed after the name of Shah Qasim's son Abul Qasim.

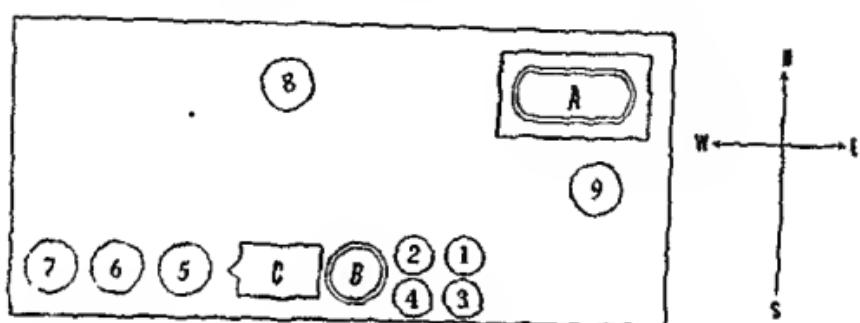
The Beg-Lar Graveyard is only about 3 miles north of this ruined fort, on the western side of the metal road between Tando Allahyar and Tando Adam. It forms a part of the bigger graveyard of the local Saint, Wahyoon Chaneho, the date of whose death is derived from the inscription on his grave, "مات فی عشق" which gives the year 1001 A.H. Perhaps the Beg-Lar family was attached to this Saint, and after his death the Beg-Lars also chose their graveyard nearer the saint's grave.

The Beg-Lar Graveyard occupies the southern portion of the bigger graveyard of the Saint Wahyoon. It is comprised of 9 graves, one small rest house (?), ruins of a small mosque (?), and the ruins of a brick mound which is said to be the burial place of the royal horse. (See the Chart). All the nine graves (four of them in a dilapidated condition) are of stone and of the same structure and design as the Arghun and Tarkhan graves at the Makli Hill. The graves of Shah Qasim Khan and his son Abul Qasim stand prominent on an earth mound, and the beautifully engraved Quranic verses, Persian couplets and epithets adorn them. The inscription on the grave of Shah Qasim Khan gives the date of his death as Monday late afternoon, 14th of Ramadan, 1019 A.H. The inscription on the grave of his son Mir Abul Qasim gives only the year of his death as 1039 A.H. The complete chronograms on these and some of the other graves are being given in the Appendix.

The Beg-Lar Graveyard has remained neglected so far. In view of the historical personages buried in it, it is of utmost importance that this graveyard be repaired and declared as a protected area by the Department of Archaeology.

APPENDIX

A Rough Chart of the Beg-Lar Graveyard



- A. A small little building with a covered roof, probably mean to be a resting place.
- B. A mound of Pakka bricks represent the debris, according to the local people who had seen it standing, of a structure with circular roof which stand on three pillars and had a circular stair-case leading to the top. According to the local tradition it is the burial place of the famous horse of the Amir, which was badly wounded in a battlefield and yet carried its master a long way back to a place of safety.
- C. The ruins, probably, of a small mosque.
- Our hero, Shah Qasim Khan's grave with the most beautiful lettering and carvings on it. The name of the engraver is given as 'Mahmud Aswad'. The chronogram reads as follows —

”تاریخ چار دهم روز شنبه وقت عصر شہر رمضان سندھ ۱۹۰۱
هزار و نوزده امیر شاہ قاسم خان ارغون بیگ لار کہ حاتم زمان و
شحاع دوران بود از دار فانی به دار فانی رحلت نمود
در جوار رحمت“
العبد المحمود اسود

2. The grave of Shah Qasim Khan's son, Mir Abul Qasim. The chronogram on the northern facade reads as follows :—

”تاریخ وفات میر ابوالقاسم ولد شاہ قاسم خان بیگ لار سن ۱۰۳۹“

3. The grave of Mir Shebreg (son of) Mir Ali Sher Arghui carrying the following chronogram on the southern facade

”تاریخ رحلت نمود میر شیر بیگ بن میر علیشیر ارغون روز“

وشبہ وقت دوپاس یازدهم شهر رمضان المبارک سنہ ۱۰۲۰

در جنگ بمرتبہ شہادت رسید“

4. A grave without any inscriptions.

5. 6 & 7. The stones of these three graves are lying scattered and therefore the grave of each deceased cannot be precisely fixed. Determining the present position of these scattered stones, it seems that the western-most No. 7 is of Mir Sultan Muqim, the son of Shah Qasim Khan Sultan. The inscription side of the stone lying nearer the position of No. 7 was deeply buried under earth and I was able to glean only the words.

تاریخ وفات امیرالسلطان

We may presume that No. 6 is the grave of Mir Sultan Muqim's daughter Rafis Begah whose grave should be naturally by the side of her father's grave. The relevant chronogram on the top stone lying at some distance reads as follows :—

”تاریخ رحلت عفت و عصمت پناہ رفیس بیگہ بنت سلطان مقیم ارغون بیگ لار روز یکشنبہ سنہ ۱۰۱۷ از زادہ شال بوده که رخت حیاة بکارگان قضا و قدر سپرد - دختر،“

By the process of elimination, No.5 may be presumed to be the grave of Mir Shukr Beg whose chronogram reads as follows :—

	وفات یافت	
مرحوم مخفور	ابن سلطان قاسم	میر شکر بیگ
.	ارغون بیگ	

8. It is the grave of Amir Abukah Beg (ابوکہ بیگ) and carries inscription both on northern and the southern facades, but it could not be completely deciphered during the short visit to the site. The southern facade carries the chronogram in which the words

امیر ابوکہ بیگ ربع الاول نھیں

are clear enough to read.

9. This is the grave of Mirza Beg son of Mirza Jan Beg Arghun. The chronogram reads as follows —

”تاریخ روز جمعہ یست و چهارم صفر مسرا زا بیگ مرحوم
بن مسرا جان بیگ ارغون وفات یافت سنہ ۱۳۴۲“

MASUDI

(One of the Greatest Encyclopaedists and Traveller in Islam)

By

K. J. AHMAD

The birth of Islam had opened a new vista for the enterprises of the Arabs and their conquests which swept over the three known continents during the early decades of the Islamic History procured a fresh stimulus for their adventurous spirits. The stories of the famous Arabian Nights including that of the Sindbad, the Sailor give a glimpse of the adventures of those fearless Arabs. It provides a slightly coloured account of the great voyages undertaken by the Arab mariners as early as the 1st century A. H. who, being undaunted by the perils enroute, roamed about in stormy seas reaching such distant lands as Ceylon, Zanzibar, Maldives, Java and Sumatra.

The innovation of mariners compass opened vast oceans for their enterprising voyages. Mostly the European writers have credited the Chinese with the invention of the Mariner's compass, but according to the famous orientalist George Sarton, the Arabs were first to make the use of it, a fact which has been admitted by the Chinese, themselves. Another well-known orientalist, Phillip K. Hitti has endorsed the views expressed by George Sarton. According to a statement of Sir R. F. Burton, it even seems that Ibn Majid was venerated in the past on the African Coast as the inventor of the Compass. Any way the practical use of Compass has immensely contributed to the undertaking of distant voyages by the Arab Sailors, who hitherto confined to coastal trips, now came out in open oceans and roamed about in Atlantic as well as in Pacific, circled the African

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امیر ابوکہ بیگ ربع الاول نوھند

are clear enough to read.

9. This is the grave of Mirza Beg son of Mirza Jan Beg Arghun. The chronogram reads as follows —

”تاریخ رور جمعہ بیست و چهارم صفر مسزا بیگ مرحوم
بن مسزا جان بیگ ارغون وفات یافہ سنہ ۱۱۲۳“

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The birth of Islam had opened a new vista for the enterprises of the Arabs and their conquests which swept over the three known continents during the early decades of the Islamic History procured a fresh stimulus for their adventurous spirits. The stories of the famous Arabian Nights including that of the Sindbad, the Sailor give a glimpse of the adventures of those fearless Arabs. It provides a slightly coloured account of the great voyages undertaken by the Arab mariners as early as the 1st century A. H. who, being undaunted by the perils enroute, roamed about in stormy seas reaching such distant lands as Ceylon, Zanzibar, Maldives, Java and Sumatra.

The innovation of mariners compass opened vast oceans for their enterprising voyages. Mostly the European writers have credited the Chinese with the invention of the Mariner's compass, but according to the famous orientalist George Sarton, the Arabs were first to make the use of it, a fact which has been admitted by the Chinese, themselves. Another well-known orientalist, Phillip K. Hitti has endorsed the views expressed by George Sarton. According to a statement of Sir R. F. Burton, it even seems that Ibn Majid was venerated in the past on the African Coast as the inventor of the Compass. Any way the practical use of Compass has immensely contributed to the undertaking of distant voyages by the Arab Sailors, who hitherto confined to coastal trips, now came out in open oceans and roamed about in Atlantic as well as in Pacific, circled the African

continent and even touched the shores of the New World. The frail boats were replaced by larger sailing ships and Arabs with the help of compass and other Marine instruments braved the stormy seas. The use of mariners compass thus revolutionized the oceanic shipping carried on by Muslims during the Mediaeval times.

The golden period of Muslim Geography, Travels and exploration runs from the 9th to the 14th century A.D., in which a vast amount of travel and Geographical literature was produced in the world of Islam which ultimately paved the way for later explorations and discoveries of the Christian west. Writing in the "Legacy of Islam", J. H. Kramers says, "Europe ought to look upon them (Muslims) as its cultural ancestors in the domain of Geographical knowledge, discovery and world Trade. The influence which Islam has exercised on our Modern civilization in the spheres of action can be seen in the many terms of Arabic origin which are to be found in the vocabulary of Trade and Navigation. The measure of influence can only be proved by studying the historical development of the domain over which our actual Geographical knowledge extends."

Among the versatile genius of the 10th century A.D. al Masudi, a globe trotter, historian, geographer who has left behind him invaluable information on travels, history, geography, music and science.

LIFE

Abul Hasan Ali Ibn Husain Ibn al-Masudi was born at Baghdad towards the close of 9th century. He was a descendent of Hazrat Abdulla Ibn Masood, the celebrated companion of the Prophet of Islam. He was a Mutazilite Arab who spent the last 10 years of his life in Syria and Egypt. He died at Cairo in 957 A.D.

Masudi is a well-known writer and explorer of the East. He was still young, when he travelled through Persia and stayed in Istakhar for about a year in 915 A.D. Starting from Baghdad, he went to India in 916, visiting Multan, Mansura returned back to Persia and after touring, Kerman again went to India. Mansura, in his time was the most flourishing town of Western India which was the metropolis of the Muslim State of Sind. In his monumental work "Muruj uz-Zahab" Masudi speaks very highly of this one time great city. This city, according to him was named after Mansoor Ibn

Jamhoor who was the Omayyad Governor of Sind. The city was situated on the bank of river Indus, somewhere near the present Hyderabad, al-Masudi, saw for the first time, eighty elephants in the stable of the Governor. Mansura, the Capital of the prosperous Arab State was inhabited by a large population of Syeds, the descendants of 'Caliph Ali'. Long before the Muslim conquest, Masudi found several powerful colonies of converted Muslims in Central India ruled by Hindu Rajas. These converts had embraced Islam due to the missionary work of a number of Muslim saints who had visited Hindu India in the teeth of Non-cooperation and stiff opposition. According to Masudi the Hindu rulers at last yielded to the high character of Muslim Missionaries as well as of their followers and allowed them Religious Freedom. Some of the Hindu Rajas were so much influenced that they considered Muslims as a token of their good fortune. Travelling through Cambay, Deccan and Ceylon he along with some other merchants, sailed to Indo China and China. On his return trip he visited Madagascar, Zanzibar, Oman and arrived in Basra where he settled down for sometime and wrote his great work, "Muruj-uz-Zahab" (Golden Meadows) in which he has related his personal experiences of different countries in an inimitable manner which is enjoyed by the reader. Masudi also visited the Southern Shore of the Caspian Sea and travelled through Central Asia and Turkistan. He visited Tiberias and described the relics of the Christian Church there. He toured Gujrat in 303 A. H. He found Chamur, a port of Gujrat inhabited by more than ten thousand Arabs and their descendants. He obtained first-hand information when necessary from Jews, Persians, Indians and a Christian Bishop. Leaving Basra and Syria, he returned to Fostat (old Cairo) where he compiled his voluminous work "Mirat-uz-Zaman" (Mirror of the time) in 30 volumes in which he has elaborately dealt with the Geography, History and life of the people of countries he had visited.

HIS WORKS

Masudi after making an extensive tour of the East settled down at Basra, where he penned his experiences in his immortal work, 'Muruj-uz-Zahab wa Ma'adin ul-Jawahir' (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Precious Stones). This was completed in 947 A. D. and

in 956 A D he completed a second edition of this book. Its French translation in 9 volumes was published in Paris in 1861—77. Writing in his 'History of the Arabs' Phillip K. Hitti remarks, "In this encyclopaedic, historio geographical work, the author with catholicity and scientific curiosity, carried his researches beyond the typically Muslim subjects into Indo-Persian Roman and Jewish History." He is a broad minded historian who has an intimate knowledge of the Rise and Fall of the Nations which he has incorporated in his monumental work 'Muruj-az-Zahab'. The celebrated orientalist George Sarton states about this book "It is remarkable because of the catholicity of its author, who neglected no source or information and of his truly scientific curiosity." In his Muruj-uz-Zahab (Golden Meadows) "he tells the rich experiences of his life in the amicable and cheerful manner of a man who had seen various lands, experienced life in all its phases, and who takes pleasure, not only in instructing, but in amusing his reader, without burdening us with the names of the authorities, without losing himself in long explanation he delights in giving prominence to that which strikes him as wonderful, rare and interesting and to portray people and manners with conciseness and anecdotic skill."

From Basra, he later moved to Fostat (old Cairo) where he wrote his extensive work "Kitab Akhbar uz-Zamani" or 'Mirat, uz-Zaman' (Mirror of Times) better known as "Annals" in 30 volumes with a supplement, the 'Kitab ul Ausat', a chronological sketch of general history. This great work of Masudi was completed in 956 A D and is partially preserved. His earlier work Muruj-uz-Zahab completes the substance of the two parts of 'Miraj-uz-Zaman'. His last work, written in the year of his death is 'Kitab-ul-Tanbih wal Ishraf' (The book of Indication and Revision), in which he summarises, corrects and completes his earlier works. This book has been edited by M J Goeje and published in Leiden in 1894 A D. Masudi's books are important because these bristle with a spirit of independence and display a difference between the conventional Imperial Geography and the independent geographical notions of explorers.

History being the favourite subject of Muslims, they have made invaluable contribution to it and have produced such outstanding historians as Tabari, Miskawayhi, Masudi and Ibn Khaldun. Not only

in history, but in almost all branches of learning Muslims made lasting contributions during Mediaeval Times. Writing in an introduction to the study of science, George Sarton, states, "The main task of mankind was accomplished by Muslims. The greatest philosopher, al-Farabi was a Muslim ; the greatest Mathematicians, Abul Kamil and Ibrahim Ibn Sinan were Muslims ; the greatest geographer and encyclopaedist, al-Masudi was a Muslim ; the greatest historian, al-Tabari was still a Muslim." Masudi known as the "Herodotus and Pliny" of Arabs introduced the Topical method of writing history. He revolutionized the writing of history by introducing the critical study of historical events and instead of grouping his events around years he grouped them around dynasties—a treatment later followed and elaborated by Ibn Khaldun. He had a deep knowledge of the rise and fall of the innumerable dynasties of the world which he critically examined in his monumental historio-geographical works detailed above. Masudi was aware of his greatness as a historian. He says, "I have never come across a historian who had dealt with the subject of history in a manner as I have done. A comparison of my historical work with those of my predecessors would convince any reader of the validity of my statement." He was very broad-minded and was one of the first to make good use of historical anecdotes. He had made an extensive study tour and wandered throughout the Islamic world in quest of first hand information which enabled him to write his great works, 'Muruj-uz-Zahab' (Golden Meadows) and 'Mirat-uz-Zaman' (Mirror of Times). His other notable work, 'al Tanbih wal Ishraf', outlines his theory on evolution.

Masudi has made invaluable contributions to music and science. He was a musical theorist of eminence. His 'Muruj-uz-Zahab' (Golden Meadows) contain interesting data on the early Arabian music. His other books deal with the music of Foreign Lands.

His historio-geographical works contain description of the earthquake of 955 A.D. of the waters of Dead Sea and other geological discussions. He made the earliest mention of the windmills in Sijistan which were probably the invention of Islamic people. His 'Kitab-al-Tanbih-wal-Ishraf' (Book of Indication and Revision) gives rudiments of his theory on evolution which he explains as from minerals to plant, from plant to animal and from animal to man.

His immortal historical works were greatly instrumental in moulding the later historical writings. An account of his works is to be found in de Sacy's memoirs and in Goeje's preface to his edition of 'Kitab-al Tanbih-wal Ishraf'. 'The Tales of Caliph' written by C. Field in 1909 is based on Masudi's works.

CHRIST'S PROPHECY ABOUT AHMAD

By

Professor Nawab Ali

In his "History of the Arabs" Philip Hitti writes about our Prophet thus in Ch. VIII, pp. 111.

"In or about A.D. 571 a child was born in the Quraysh at Makkah and was given by his mother a name which may remain for ever uncertain The form which his name takes in the Qur'an is Muhammad and once (61 : 6) Ahmad."

Hitti has simply mentioned Quranic reference about Ahmad but has not quoted that verse otherwise he would not have used the phrase "which may remain for ever uncertain." It is Christ's prophecy about Ahmad which is given in that verse. Below we quote it :—

"And when Jesus son of Mary said 'O children of Israil Lo' I am the Messenger of Allah unto you, confirming to that which was revealed before me in the Torah and bringing good tidings of a Messenger who cometh after me whose name is 'Ahmad' (See Ch. LXI. 6)."

Note that both names Muhammad and Ahmad are derived from the same Arabic root "Hamd" meaning 'praise'. Muhammad means the one who is praised much and Ahmad who praises much. It was the peculiarity of our Prophet Muhammad that he praised Allah much with every breath of his prophetic life in Mecca and Medina so Christ named Ahmad, the praiser of Allah. But as the Gospels were first written in Greek which was not the mother tongue of Christ the word "Paraclet" was recorded and then translated into English Gospels as "Comforter". In St. John's Gospels Ch. XVI, 12-16 Christ says to his disciples, "I have yet many things to say unto you but ye cannot hear them now. How be it when the Spirit of Truth is come, he will

guide you unto all truth , for he shall not speak of himself but what ever he shall hear that shall he speak and shall glorify me ”

In the above prophecy who is the Spirit of Truth Read the Quranic Sura “ An Najm ” (Star) (Ch. LIII. 3-5)

“ Nor doth he speak of (his own) desire

It is naught save a Revelation that is revealed which

One of Mighty Power hath taught him

And He revealed unto His servant that which He revealed

No doubt the Spirit of Truth is the Ahmad of Christ Let our modern orientalist think over it, Ahmad the praiser of Allah shall be praised for ever as Muhammad As for the last words of the above Gospels prophecy that “ he shall glorify me ” see how Christ is glorified in the Qur'an

The Jews, the Christians and the Pagan Arabs held contradictory views about Mary and her son Jesus Christ, but the Qur'an in various Suras corrects their respective views thus

The Jews

The Jews are denounced for “ their unbelief and for their having uttered against Mary, a grievous calumny.” (Ch iv 156) Says the Qur'an “ And Mary daughter of Imran who guarded her chastity so we breathed of Our Spirit And she put faith in the words of her Lord and His Scriptures and was of the obedient ” (Ch LXVI-12) Mary's mother had dedicated her as soon as she was born, for the service of the Holy House (Baitul Maqdas) and she was brought up there under the care of the Prophet Zecharias (III-36)

The Christians

“ O people of the Book ! says the Qur'an, do not exaggerate in your religion nor utter ought concerning Allah save the truth The Messiah Jesus son of Mary was only a messenger of Allah and only the word conve,ed unto Mary and a Spirit from Him So believe in Allah and His Messenger and say not Three Desist, it is better for you Allah is only one God Far it is removed from His transcendent majesty that He should have a son.” (Ch IV. 171)

The Pagan Arabs

When our Prophet was preaching against idol-worshiping and praising all the prophets of Israil including Jesus Christ the Meccans were very angry saying : "Mohammad is denouncing his own national gods Hubal, Lat and Uzza the godess but praises the 'god' of the Christians whose mother was serving in the Temple and whose father was a poor Jew. Says the Qur'an: "And when the son of Mary is quoted as an example behold the folk laugh out and say are our gods better or is he. They raise not the objection save for argument. Nay but they are a contentious folk. He is nothing but a slave on whom We bestowed fav our and We made him a pattern for the children of Israil. (Ch. XLII 57-59). And again " The Messiah will never scorn to be a slave unto Allah nor will the favoured angels." (Ch. IV 172)

Mark the word *slave* (Abd) for Jesus Christ. Our Prophet is also called Muhammad His slave and Messenger and so is Jesus slave and Messenger. The Arabs fully understood the significance of the word slave so Jesus is not called here as Spirit (Ruh) of Allah nor His Word (Logos) which were the mystic epithets of the Alexanderian Theology of the Christians. Bondage to Allah is real liberty and His two chosen slaves Jusus and Muhammad are masters of mankind !

A misunderstanding cleared. Poets use beautiful similes to charm the hearers ; but in religion similes have misled the people diverting their attention from fact to fiction. For example read the old testament (Hosia II) where Jehovah said thus : " When Israil was a child I loved him and called my son out of Egypt." The use of the word 'son' signifies the creators loving regardfor the children of Israil when Moses took them out from Egypt. But after Soloman's glorious reign when the Jews revolted and disobeyed the divine Commandments they were severely punished and destroyed first by the Assyrians and then the Babylonions. Prophets were sent to them, but they killed some of them and openly began to pay homage to other gods. At last when Jesus was born. he found them stiff-naked, hard-hearted and attending to the letters of the law. They were very angry for Jehovah had been so hard on them. Then Jesus used a beautiful simile and called Jehovah as father just to impress the hearers hat father's punishment of his naughty son was for reform only and not for illwill and enmity. So Jehovah's loving care

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is always for us although we might be punished for our own wickedness, therefore love him and pray and follow the spirit of the law also but after Jesus the simile was misrepresented among the gentiles who considered Jesus as really the son of Jehovah after the manner of the pagan gods of Greece and Egypt. The Qur'an, however, cleared this misunderstanding.

Hind - Pakistan History Section



Muslim Kings of the Fifteenth Century and Bhakti Revival

Dr. A. Halim, Dacca

Muslim historians like Nizāmuddīn Ahmed Bakhshi, Ferishta, Ni‘amatullah and Badaūni do not speak a word about the Bhakti movement or even make a passing reference to the existence of any great Bhagat of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Yet this period coincided with the greatest religious and social movements known to the history of medieval Pak-India. Only Abul Fazl in his ‘Āin-i Akbari gives a passing notice to Kabīr, in connexion with his general description about the Subahs of Orissa and Awadh. “Some affirm”, says he in support of local tradition, as he describes Pūrī, that “Kabīr Muwahhid (unitarian), reposes here, and many authentic traditions are related regarding his sayings and doings to this day. He was revered by both Hindus and Mohammadans for his catholicity of doctrine and illumination of his mind, and died, the Brahmans wished to burn his body, and Mohammadans to bury it”¹ “Some say”, again he writes in connexion with Awadh, “that Rattanpūr is the tomb of Kabīr,² the asserter of the unity of God. The portals of spiritual discernment were partly opened to him, and he discarded the effete doctrines of his own time. Numerous verses in the Hindi language are still extant of him containing important theological truths.” The comparative silence and indifference to knowledge of the Muslim historian may be explained away as due to their habit of confining their attention to the chronicles of kings at opposed to the life and conditions of the common people. But it sounds very strange that very few incidents can be cited in the whole range of medieval Muslim history of the country establishing the contact of kings with any great religious reformer of the Bhakti school. And yet at that time, Northern India was ruled by the Pathān kings of the Lodi dynasty anywhere else, provincial Muslim dynastic were ruling in full sway. The second king of the Lodi dynasty, Sikandar Lodi 1489-1517 A. D., was a contemporary³

of Kabir, whose (Sikandar's) orthodoxy bordered on iconoclasm Kasi and Banaras came under the possession of Sikandar Lodi in 900/1494, and there after, he was the Lord-paramount of Northern India from the borders of Bengal to the bank of the Chenab Banaras and Muthra, the two great centres of Vaishnava revival, formed part of his dominions The story of Kabir being persecuted by Sikandar Lodi after the conquest of Banaras, mentioned in Kabir's biographies⁴, that being charged with heresy, ostensibly by narrow-minded divines, the Qadis, whom he never spares the most trenchant condemnation, that he with his hands and feet tied, was thrown before an elephant to be trampled to death, that the furious elephant instead of discharging its allotted duty, lifted its trunk in salutation of him, and that he was next thrown into the Ganges, with his hands and feet in chains, and that instead of his being drowned, he was found seated with ease upon a deer-skin on the surface of water, cannot be accepted as true, for almost exactly, the same story, dressed in different wordings, is recorded of Namdev, in the Guru Granth, the holy book of the Sikhs⁵. In the verses of the Granth, which are universally regarded as being more authentic than the recorded collections of the same else-where, Namdev, the great Maharashtra divine, is being condemned to death by being trampled by a furious elephant, by a certain Sultan whom Macauliffe identifies as Sultan Firuz Tughlaq, sitting in the open court with the Qadis and other court dignitaries And that as the elephant came to attack him, Nama is saved by Hari whom he adored, the elephant salutes him, the Qadis bow in reverence and the king being pleased rewards him with gold. Nama sings the glorification of Lord Hari The manner in which the incidents mentioned above are woven around the life of the two great reformers, yield the conclusion that such legends are attached indiscriminately to prove to the disciple the miracles of their guide and secondly that these cannot possibly be true in case of both And supposing that these stories are not inventions in the case of Namdev, who preceded Kabir, they cannot be true in case of the latter.

Babar has not mentioned anything of merit in case of Guru Nanak, in his Memoirs, though the Janani Sakhis of the Guru record

of his being put in restraint after Babar's capture of the town of Saidpur in the Punjab, and of his being released after performing a miracle.

The following incidents may be remotely connected with the Bhakti movement though we cannot say with certainty that they were so. We read of one Nasir Khan, son of Qadir Khan, a semi-independent chief of Kalpi (Jalaun District U. P.), who had transferred his allegiance from the weak and incompetent Sultan Muhammad Shah Sayyid (1434-1443 A.D.), to Sultan Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa and having turned an apostate to Islam and bidding adieu to Muslim fasts and giving Muslim girls to Hindu Nayaks to be trained as dancers⁶. It is not improbable that Nasir Khan had turned a Bhagat with whom music formed a very important part of religious and spiritual exercises. This incident having taken place in 1443 A. D. the question arises that Bhakti movement had not till then gathered any momentum in Northern India, except probably in Banaras, the seat of Ramananand. According to Muslim sources, Ibrahîm Shah Sharqi sought permission from Mahmud Shah of Malwa to punish the apostate Nasir Khan and sent an army for the purpose after obtaining the tacit approval of the Sultan of Malwa. Nasir Khan being driven from his territories appealed for aid to Mahmud Shah, denying the charges of apostasy. At last the aid came and after a prolonged encounter, it was decided by the treaty of Irreh that Ibrahîm Shah would evacuate Kalpi territories within four months of its signature. The influence of Bhakti movement is not conclusively proved by Hindu or Muslim sources.

A second apostatization of a Muslim noble took place during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodî. We are informed by Nizamuddin Ahmad⁷, that Ahmad Khan Lodî, son of Mubarak Khan Lodî governor of Lakhnaw Sarkâr, having turned an apostate, he was removed from his charge. Our sources do not go beyond the narration of this bare fact and it is difficult to say if the cause of his apostasy is to be sought in his becoming a convert to the Bhakti Cult.

But we, on the other hand, do come across some historical facts, expressive of Sikander Lodî's attitude to the Hindus, especially in areas which were centres of religious movement, or were considered

sacred for other reasons Orthodox of an uncompromising nature as Sikandar Lodi was even as a crown prince, he sought the opinion of Mawlana 'Abdullah Ajodhani (of Pak-Pattan), Montgomery District, W Punjab), regarding Hindu bathing in the sacred tanks of Kurukshetra.⁸ Nizam Khan, as the Prince was called at that time, held the governorship of Delhi with part of the Punjab. The Mawlana fearlessly opened that it was illegal to stop an old practice, whereupon the Prince drew his sword upon the legislist but calmed down when the Mawlana reiterated that he had said whatever was contained in the law books. In this incident too, Thaneswar cannot be connected with having anything to do with the Bhakti movement, though it was regarded from the hoary past.

In connexion with Muihra, one of the greatest centres of Bhakti revival, we learn from Nizamuddin's Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Ni'matullah's Makhzan-i-Afghani-Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan, and Firishta,⁹ that Sikandar Lodi constructed, sarais, bazars, madrasahs and marketplaces in Muthra, and posted guards to prevent bathing in the Jumna, and prohibited barbers from shaving beards and chins. This ban may reasonably be connected with the Bhakti movement, Muthra being a great Vaishnava centre which attracted Chatanya from distant Bengal.¹⁰ Here was established the great Vallabhī Order, with the great Swami Vallabhacharya being surrounded by a host of disciples of whom Sardas attained eternal fame. Whether the ban was an outcome of the religious zeal of the Sultan, or simply an instrument to prevent people from being total loss to society, it was maintained, so it appears, with considerable laity and the people could pay a bribe to the guardsmen, to have a dip in the¹¹ river, being driven to it as pretended lunatics.

The trial of a Brahman named Yudhan¹², an inhabitant of Kather (Rohilkhand) on his open declaration that Hinduism is as good a religion as Islam by orders of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, is connected by some Indologists like Sir William Jones with the Bhakti movement. This incident is reported in almost all histories of the period. The Sultan wrote to Az'am Humayun Khan Lodi, governor of Rohilkhand, to send the Brahman to Sanibhal whether he had transferred the seat of his government from 995 to 909 A.H./1498-1503,

along with the leading cannonists of the kingdom. Some of them were called from Lukhnaw.¹³ The Judges gave the verdict that he should either embrace Islām or face death. He did not save his life by recanting.¹⁴

The above are the only instances I could gather from Muslim sources, indicative of the relation of the Muslim kings with Vaishnava revival movements in Northern India. It cannot be definitely be said, if Sikandar's prohibition of bathing in Muthra applied to daily bath or periodical bathig which has no connexion with the movement in question. Supposing it does, so far as it appertains to the shaving of the chin to prevent initiation to the Orders, and supposing he consented to the execution of a Brahman, asserting that there was little difference between Islām and Hinduism, these are very trivial incidents, considering that the movement affected the life and thought of thousands of people, from the furthest end of Bengal to the furthest end of the Punjāb.

Coming again to the life of Gurū Nānak, his biographies testify how helpful the Muslim officials of the Punjāb, like Rai Bulār, the Bhatti, chief of Talāwandi Dawlat khān Lodī, governor of the Punjab had been to him from his boyhood.¹⁵ There is no instance of Gurū Nānak being persecuted by Dawlat khān Lodī, who, it is related,¹⁶, had taken Gurū Nānak to a mosque, to pray, neither by Ibrāhīm Shāh Lodī, the emperor of Delhi for his refusal to resurrect a dead elephant.¹⁷ Ibrāhīm Lodī was too busy with his own political affairs to pay any attention as to what was happening in the cells of monks. There is no allusion in the Holy Granth as to Bābar's contact with Gurū Nanak, as far as I am aware. And it is really surprising, that Babar failed to record in his diary, the miracles of an Indian mendicant at Saīdpur, while he could discuss almost everything Indian, its fruits, flowers, animals and birds. Moreover none of the 'pads' or 'sabads' or 'shlokas', to my knowledge, recorded in the Holy Granth, including those of Nāmdēv, Kabīr, Dhanna and Pippa, Rāidās, Seinū and others, betray a word of interference by the governing authorities.

The attitude of the Muslim monarchs and their officials towards the Bhakti revival, during the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth

sacred for other reasons Orthodox of an uncompromising nature as Sikandar Lodi was even as a crown prince, he sought the opinion of Mawlana 'Abdullah Ajodhani (of Pak-Pattan), Montgomery District, W Punjab), regarding Hindu bathing in the sacred tanks of Kurukshetra.⁸ Nizam Khân, as the Prince was called at that time, held the governorship of Delhi with part of the Punjab. The Mawlana fearlessly opened that it was illegal to stop an old practice, whereupon the Prince drew his sword upon the legislist but calmed down when the Mawlana reiterated that he had said whatever was contained in the law books In this incident too, Thaneswar cannot be connected with having anything to do with the Bhakti movement holy though it was regarded from the hoary past.

In connexion with Muthra, one of the greatest centres of Bhakti revival, we learn from Nizamuddin's Tabaqât-i Akbarî, Niamatullah's Makhzan-i Afghani-Tarikh-i Khan Jahâni, and Ferishta,⁹ that Sikandar Lodi constructed, sarais, bazars, madrasahs and marketplaces in Muthra, and posted guards to prevent bathing in the Jumna, and prohibited barbers from shaving beards and chins This ban may reasonably be connected with the Bhakti movement, Muthra being a great Vaishnava centre which attracted Châtanya from distant Bengal.¹⁰ Here was established the great Vallabhi Order, with the great Swâmi Vallabhachârya being surrounded by a host of descplices of whom Sardâs attained eternal fame Whether the ban was an outcome of the religious zeal of the Sultân, or simply an instrument to prevent people from being total loss to society, it was maintained, so it appears, with considerable laity and the people could pay a bribe to the guardsmen, to have a dip in the¹¹ river, being driven to it as pretended lunatics.

The trial of a Brahman named Yudhan¹², an inhabitant of Kather (Rohilkhand) on his open declaration that Hinduism is as good a religion as Islam by orders of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, is connected by some indologists like Sir William Jones with the Bhakti movement This incident is reported in almost all histories of the period The Sultân wrote to Az'am Humâyûn Khân Lodi, governor of Rohilkhand, to send the Brâhmaṇ to Sanibhal whether he had transferred the seat of his government from 995 to 909 A. H /1498-1503,

Footnotes

1. 'Āīn-i Akbarī, Jarrett, 129.

2. Ibid, 171. How funny it is that Abul Fazl did not know of Maghar (Basti District, U. P.) where Kabīr died in 1518 A. D. after quitting Banāras during the latter part of Sikandar's reign. Rām Mukand Verma in his Sant Kabir refers to this on p. 40.

Tore bharose maghar basi-au, Mere tanki tapti bujhai, Pahile daren Maghar pai-au, Puni Kasi base aii.

3. Kabīr lived according to tradition 120 years, having been born in 1398 A. D. and dying in 1518. A. D.

4. Cf. Saint Kabīr, Verma, R. M. (Hindustani Academy), p. 35, the verses beginning with :

"Bhujā bādhi mila kari dariau : Hastī kropī mund mahi mariau" in Rāg Gaund, and

"Gang gosāini, gahīr gambahīr. Janjīr bādhi kari kharei Kabīr" in Rāg Bhairaon. 18th Pad.

5. Cf. page 1859, Newalkishore, Urdu edition, beginning with "Sultan puchhe sun re name Dekho Ram tumhara Kama.

6. Nizāmuddīn, *Tabaqat-i Akbari* Vol III, Hib Ind, Calcutta, P. 326"

7. Ibid., I, 331.

8. Elliot, IV, 439.

9. Newalkishore, I, 186.

10. Sir J. N., *Sarkar, Chaitanya*, 232

11. *Mujmal-i, Hindi* Habībgunj, Aligarh, Ms which appears to be an annotated version of Ferishta and Beale's *Miftahut-Tāwarīkh*.

12. This is Maulana Zakaullah's nomenclature. Persian histories have Lodhan end Budhan.

13. Lakhnawtī, according to some sources, which is not improbable.

14. Ferishta Newalkishore I, 336, Tab Akb I, P.

15. Ernest Trumpp, *To or Adi Granth*, Pref. XXXIX and XXXY

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid Preface, p. 5.

centuries may generally be taken as one of respectful indifference, they caring little as to who entered a monastic Order or who came out from them. But yet they held the teachers in great respect. Abul Fazl's manner of recording the life of Kabir may be cited as an example. Perhaps the Muslim rulers made no distinction between Muslim Sufis and Hindu Bhagats.

Footnotes

1. 'Āīn-i Akbarī, Jarrett, 129.
2. Ibid, 171. How funny it is that Abul Fazl did not know of Maghar (Basti District, U. P.) where Kabīr died in 1518 A. D. after quitting Banāras during the latter part of Sikandar's reign. Rām Mukand Verma in his Sant Kabir refers to this on p. 40.

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16. Ibid.

17. Ibid Preface, p. 5.



THE SIMLA DEPUTATION

by

Dr. A. Hamid, Lahore

While the agitation against the 1905 partition of Bengal was going on, it was generally understood that the British Government contemplated the reconstitution of the then existing legislatures on a more representative basis. Muslims looked at the scheme with misgivings. So far the elective system had been tried in the country in a very limited sphere and Muslim experience of elections had been unhappy. In 1883, Sayyid Ahmad had voiced opposition to an unmodified introduction of the Western electoral system in the country as detrimental to Muslim interests. In 1892, Sayyid Mahmud had submitted an elaborate memorandum to the Government, pointing out, that where elections enabled a few Muslim to get into public bodies, they entirely owed their success to non-Muslim supporters, and their influence was, hardly, if ever, cast on the side of their own community. The Agha Khan has stated that wherever the Indian National Congress was compelled to put a few Muslims in representative offices, its choice invariably fell on third raters.¹

Therefore, it was not a "clique of reactionary politicians" of "non-Indian origin", comparable to "the Orange Society in Ireland", and "hostile to Hindu progress",² who waited on Governor-General Minto in 1906 to demand separate electorates for the Muslim community, but a set of cautious elders who were struggling to prevent the disintegration of the community. In doing so they were also making a very much conscious assertion of a separate Muslim nationality. Here is the inside story of the deputation as narrated by an unsparing critic :

"When the Reform scheme was being threshed out by a Committee of Viceroy's Council, Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan of Aligarh

1. Memoirs, pp. 76—77.

2. C. J., O'Donnel, *Causes of the Present Discontent in India*, p. 36.

addressed a communication to Mohsin ul Mulk from Naini Tal, strongly suggesting an immediate move for the protection of Muslim interests under the new dispensation. The subject was also generally engaging the attention of Muslim *Intelligentsia*. Mr Archbold, the principal of M A O College, was spending the long vacation at Simla and was in touch with high government officials. He talked over the subject of the proposed deputation to the private secretary to the Viceroy and acquainted Mohsin ul Mulk with the outcome of this interview. His letter was circulated among the intended deputationists. It read as follows,¹

Col Dunlop Smith (private secretary to the Viceroy) writes to inform me that the Viceroy is prepared to receive the Muslim deputation and directs that a formal application be made in this behalf. The following considerations should be kept in mind.

First The application. The application needs to be signed by just a few recognised leaders of the community even if they have not been elected by a representative organization.

Second Composition of the deputation. This should include representatives of the community from all provinces.

Third Contents of the representation. The address should reiterate the community's loyalist creed, thank the Viceroy for the proposed advance towards self government, express apprehensions about the future of the Muslim minority under a 'democratic' system, press for adequate representation for Muslims in legislatures either through nomination or by extending the privilege of representation to religious communities and express the view that in a country like India landed interests need to be given special weightage.

Personally I believe it to be wise for Muslims to make a demand for nomination rather than election. Elections will not give them their due share. I do not wish to be openly associated with all this and prefer to stay behind the scene. The initiative should come from you. I shall gladly render whatever assistance I can. I can draft the address or suggest suitable amendments if it is proposed to have it prepared in Bombay. I know the art of drawing up well.

¹ Re translated from Urdu

worded petitions. No time should be lost if the move is to be effective."

A whole legend has grown up round this document. Its contents do not reveal anything new or startling. All these ideas and observations occur and reoccur in the speeches, writings and newspaper articles put forth by the Aligarh school of politics. Mr. Archbold's coaching was superfluous. It was not he who instilled the injurious effects of elections into the Muslim mind. These were already well understood. It is doubtful if the address had materially differed from what it was, if Archbold had withheld his gratuitous advice.

The address was written by Mr. Bilgrami. The draft was approved by a meeting at Lucknow. Probably no one cared to secure Archbold's approval for its contents. And finally Archbold's pointed suggestion to ask for nominations (in place of elections) was ignored. It was not even mentioned. Archbold's telling Mohsin-ul-Mulk that "the initiative should come from you" makes a queer reading, because the first person to make a move in the matter was Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, one of the leaders of the Aligarh movement. All that Archbold did was to get into touch with the private secretary to the Viceroy on behalf of his employers and settle the preliminaries of the deputation. He wrote back telling them that the Viceroy was prepared to listen to their grievance and possibly redress it. It was an opportune moment. They seized it with both hands: It has also to be added that things were not being settled in the secrecy of a cabal: The whole community was taking a "deep but quiet interest" in the matter.¹

The deputation consisting of seventy members, and led by the Agha Khan, waited on Governor-General Minto on October 1, 1906, and was received in the Viceregal ball-room. The long address read by the Agha Khan said, among other things, that the position of the Muslim community should not be estimated on its numerical strength alone but in respect of its political importance and the service it had rendered to the empire; that the representative institutions of accidental pattern were inappropriate and inexpedient for India and their application raised questions of peculiar difficulty; that it was necessary

1. London Times Weekly, 23 September, 1906.

to proceed in this uncharted field with utmost care and that in whatever sphere (municipal or provincial) it was intended to introduce or extend the electoral system, Muslims should be represented as a community.

The Governor-General concurred with these propositions and stated in reply "that any electoral representation in India would be deemed a mischievous failure which aimed at granting a general enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this sub-continent." He went on to say "the great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions" and that "the Mohammadan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative reorganization with which I am concerned."

The acceptance of the deputation's demand proved to be a turning-point in the history of the sub-continent. Its final and inevitable consequence was the partition of 1947. It is appropriate to offer a few comments in retrospect.

The Hindu Press of Calcutta subsequently subjected the sponsors of this deputation to taunts and jibes, vilification and ridicule. The results of this smearing campaign, in the long run, were telling. It only served to consolidate the Muslim separatist sentiment. An acrimonious controversy has centred round separate electorates ever since. But it has to be admitted that the parties concerned could not devise a mutually acceptable alternative at any later stage and when in 1916 the representatives of the two communities sat down to settle their outstanding differences, separate electorates constituted the basis of adjustment.

The Muslim leadership of 1906 was firmly convinced of the justice of its cause. Even some Hindu leaders supported separate representation for Muslims. Mr Gokhale, for instance, averred that Muslim apprehensions regarding the future were not to be divined. If Hindus were a minority, they should have felt the same about it and followed the same policies as Muslims were doing.

But whereas Muslims had demanded what they believed to be their due, Minto judged it expedient to take a favourable view of

that claim. Obviously the giver and receiver actuated by different motives. Muslim wanted to preserve their communal identity Minto was anxious to pull them out of political discontent. The suggestion often made and uncritically accepted, that the British administration in India systematically pursued "pro-Muslim" policies is untenable. No Imperialism is conscience-stricken. The British may have been partial to Muslims (or for that matter to one community or the other) here and there. But they never hesitated to leave them in the lurch when that suited their interests.

Muhammad Ali who accompanied the deputation and should have known better called it a "command performance" in later years. But one would suspect this as a piece of phrase-making brilliant rather than accurate, for in that very context he went on to say : "From what-ever source the inspiration may have proceeded there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial elections the Muslims had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation."¹ Even if the deputation were a command performance, the deputationists did not make a "dictated" demand. They got an opportunity to voice a grievance which they had suffered for long. They were encouraged to express it. And they did so in a dignified manner.

Hindu writers usually point to the Simla deputation with a finger of scorn. To them it is just one (out of the so many) symptoms of the anti-national, unpatriotic and pro-British proclivities of Indian Muslims. Mr. Lal Bahadur typifies this attitude when he says that "the evidence in this respect (i. e. of its being a 'command performance') is so overwhelming that any attempt at its refutation would be altogether useless."² This "overwhelming evidence" adduced by him consists of (a) Arehbold's letter to Mohsin-ul-Mulk noticed earlier, (b) Arehbold's letter written to an unnamed correspondent saying that he had taken a "leading part" in the whole affair, that he was in possession of much "interesting" and relevant correspondence and that it was not his place to publish what he remembered about it, (c) the fact that Arehbold was at Simla in the rainy season when the College was in session.

Arehbold's letter to Mohsin-ul-Mulk has been already examined. His own testimony about his great role in the transaction and his

reluctance to open his mouth on the subject hardly means anything and does not, in any case, justify the verdict that Mr. Lal Bahadur has based on flimsy and undisclosed evidence. Moreover, Archbold's flings at Aligarh leadership have to be taken with a pinch of salt. The circumstances in which he was made to leave Aligarh were far from flattering and no wonder that his later references to the institution and its associates were oblique and uncomplimentary. And lastly a more satisfactory acquaintance with Aligarh and its affairs should have brought home to him the fact that Aligarh had its long vacation in the rainy season and that it was usual for principals of M A O College to spend this period at Simla.

A careful perusal of the whole affair would suggest that the deputation was premature and ill timed. Accumulating grievances should have eventually brought Muslims into conflict with Authority as this conflict actually developed after 1911. In that case Muslims might well have launched a struggle on their own initiative which would have been untainted by any "inspiration" from any quarter. It is difficult to speculate about the possible course of an action on these lines. But in this particular instance, success was achieved before the struggle had started. The unfortunate impression went round that the government was out to fight the political battle on behalf of Muslims. The idea was assiduously propagated by the Hindu Press and tragically enough some important sections of Muslims could not rid themselves of such a comforting and reassuring notion.

1 *Speeches and writings* p 254-55

2 *The Muslim League Its History Activities and Achievements* pp 34-35

An Aspect of Muslim Bengal Culture

Dr. A. Rahim, Karachi

Geography and environment play a great part in shaping the history of a country and this in its turn moulds the cultural pattern of its people. This fact is particularly true of Bengal. Because of its geographical peculiarities, for centuries, Bengal had lived in isolation as a geographical entity apart from the rest of India. This life of independent existence of Bengal contributed to the development of her distinct culture. Of course, the Muslim rulers, who came to this country, brought with them a superior culture of their own and this greatly influenced the cultural outlook of its existing population. On the grounds of political necessity and social needs, however, they adopted Bengal as their homeland and devoted themselves to the development of their common institutions, such as the Bengali language and literature. This interaction and common efforts of the Muslims and non-Muslims produced what is known as the Muslim Bengal culture.

The first reference of Bengal is found in Aranyak Brahmin of the Vedas where it is mentioned as Vanga, a Janapada or a state. In the Hindu period, Vanga did not include the whole of Bengal; it comprised roughly the territory of Eastern Bengal. The other parts of Bengal bore different names; West Bengal was called Radh and North Bengal was known as Pundravardhan and Varendra. Some parts of North Bengal and West Bengal were also known as Gaur.

It was in Muslim times that the whole of Bengal came to be known as Vanga. It was also the Muslim rulers and historians who first gave the name of Bangala to this country. Abul Fazl has given a strange explanation of the origin of the name of Bangala. He has written that the original name of Bangala was Vanga. Its former rulers raised meunds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called Al. From this originated the name Bangal or Bangala and it became current.¹

1. Jarret and Sarkar—*Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 132.

In the Hindu period, beginning from the Vedic times, with the exception of about a century and a half in the reigns of Asoka, the Imperial Guptas and Harshavardhan, Bengal had an independent career. Under Sasanka in the early seventh century and the Pala kings in the ninth century, Bengal rose to the imperial position conquering territories upto even Kanauj. The Bengali kings Ballalasena and Lakhshmanasena in the twelfth century conquered Kamrup, Assam, Orissa, Benares and other territories, and thus established a vast Bengali empire.

In the Muslim period also, Bengal remained practically independent ever since its conquest by Iltutmish Muhammad bin Balhitiyar in 1201 A.D. Of the Delhi Sultans, only Iltutmish, Balban and 'Alauddin Khilji could maintain their control over the Turkish rulers of Bengal. In spite of their best efforts Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq could not enforce their authority on the Bengal Governors. In this period, Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah (1338-49) established an independent kingdom in Eastern Bengal with Sonargaon as capital. Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah (1342-57) and his descendants ruled Bengal as independent Sultans. After this, excluding the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah (1545-53), Bengal maintained an independent sultanate for nearly two centuries and a half. In this period Bengal became so strong and prosperous that even the Mughal emperor Babur did not dare to invade it. In reign of Nasrat Shah (1517-32) Babur actually made an attempt to conquer Bengal. After a skirmish with the Bengali forces in which the Mughals failed to obtain any advantage, Babur, however, abandoned his idea of conquering Bengal, and made peace with Nasrat Shah.¹

The history of the independent sultanate of Bengal came to an end with the defeat and death of Daud Karrani in the battle of Rajmatal in 1576 at the hands of Emperor Akbar's general Khan Jahan. Akbar's conquest of Bengal, however, proved a nominal one because he failed to subjugate it. The Bara Bhayans of Bengal ignored his authority and preserved their independence. Under the leaderships of 'Isa Khan Jamindar of Sonargaon, they fought valiantly for their independence against the mighty Mughal army.

¹ *Baburnama*, II

commanded by the distinguished generals, Khān Jahān, Shāhbāz Khān, Said Khān and Man Singh, and frustrated their plan of subjugating Bengal. Hence Abūl Fazl has referred to Bengal as a 'Bulghak-khāna' or 'House of strife'.¹ Ziyāuddīn Barāni had also mentioned Bengal with the same epithet.² Indeed in spite of their best efforts, Delhi sultanate could not maintain its authority on Bengal. With all his might and resources, Akbar also failed throughout his life to establish his rule in Bengal, though he had conquered it. It was only in the reign of Jahāngīr that, due to the untiring efforts of his Subadār Islām Khān, the power of the Barā Bhūyāns was crushed and Mughal rule was definitely implanted in Bengal.

Several factors favoured Bengal in maintaining her independence against the imperialistic designs of Northern India. The Bengali soldiers known as paiks were good fighters capable of fighting in any circumstances and climes. The cavalry forces of Northern India failed to obtain any advantage over them. The Bengali rulers also kept a strong and efficient navy. In naval warfare, the Bengalees were at that time unrivalled in India. The Bengali boatmen were as expert in their sails and oars as good fighters with their arrows, javelins and other weapons. The Delhi sultanate had practically no navy, which formed so essential a part of warfare in Bengal.

That the Bengali soldiers and sailors preserved the independence of their country for centuries against the imperial forces of Northern India and conquered Assam, Orissa and Bihar is an eloquent testimony to their fighting quality. In this age, the Bengalees are stigmatised as unfit for military service. Their past history, however, does not justify this condemnation. If the fighting quality of the Bengalee declined, the policy of the British was responsible for it. Bengal was the first country in India to lose independence to the British. Bengal acted as the life-line of the Wahhabis' (Muwahhidin) Jihād movement against the British rule. And again, the Liberation War of 1857 originated in the mutiny of the Bengali sepoys at Barrackpore in Bengal. As such the British government thoroughly distrusted the Bengalees and did not admit them in the army. This made the Bengalees take the pen for the sword.

1. *Akbarnama*, III, 183.

2. *Barān*, 82.

The vast wealth of Bengal attracted the foreigners to invade the country and it also enabled her in maintaining her independence. The Chinese and other foreign travellers as well as contemporary Muslim historians have referred to the enormous riches and prosperity of Bengal. The Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta has written that nowhere in the world he had seen such a 'prosperous country as Bengal'.¹ In his autobiography, Bābar has also mentioned of the wealth of Bengal.² Ahūl Fazal, Nizāmuddīn and Badāūnī have written that every Mughul soldier who came to serve in Bengal returned to Delhi rich and prosperous with the gold of Bengal.³ After his first occupation of Gaur, capital of Bengal, Sher Shāh engaged more than two hundred horses and camels to transport the wealth of Gaur to Rohtas for fear of Humāyūn.⁴ This vast wealth enabled Sher Shāh to recruit a large army and defeat Humāyūn at Chausa and Kanauj. Indeed the Bengal rulers could strengthen themselves with the vast wealth of Bengal.

The physical features and climatic conditions of Bengal favoured the maintenance of its independence. The people of Upper India did not like Bengal because of its rivers, marshes and jungles. Ibn Batuta has written that the Up-country peoples called it 'Dujah-pur-niyāmat' or 'Hell full of all good things'.⁵ The Mughul soldiers could not stand its climate. After the occupation of Gaur in 1538 Humāyūn wanted to appoint one of his amīrs, Zāhid Beg, as his Viceroy in Bengal. Even at the offer of such a high office, Zāhid Beg could not be satisfied. He said, "What ! Your Majesty could not find a better place to kill me than in Bengal".⁶ Indeed the Upper India Muslims considered transfer to Bengal as a banishment. The same idea prevailed in the reign of Emperor Akbar also. So as an inducement, he increased the pay of the soldiers serving in Bengal and Bihar by 100 p. c. and 50 p. c. respectively.⁷

The Muslim rulers of Bengal with a small number of their adherents, would have failed to establish their rule over the bulk of

1. *Tuhfah-i-Nuzzar*, II, 179.

2. *Baburnama*, II, 493.

3. *Badayunt*, II, 269.

4. *Makhzam-i-Afghani*, 114a.

5. Same as in 1.

6. *Jauhar*, 30 and *Akbarnama*, I, 157.

7. *Akbarnama*, III, 293.

the non-Muslim population and maintain their independence, if they could not enlist their sympathy and co-operation and identify themselves with the interests of the country. Hence they adopted Bengal as their home and conducted themselves as Bengali rulers in their policy and actions. This policy obtained them the co-operation of the non-Muslims in their common struggle against the imperial forces of Northern India. Thus we find the Hindus fighting under the banners of the Muslim rulers of this country.¹

The centuries of independent existence and the spirit of co-operation among the Muslim and non-Muslims of this country produced a distinctive culture in Bengal, apart from the rest of India. The stamp of independent Muslim Bengal, found its fullest expression in the Bengali language and literature. Indeed the real Bengali language and literature began from the time of the Muslim rule and under the patronage of the Bengali Sultans. Of course, the Bengali language originated before the tenth century and flourished in the colloquial language during the reigns of the Pala Kings of Bengal. The Buddhist Dohas or songs are the specimens of the development of the Bengali language in the Buddhist period from tenth to the twelfth century.

In the reigns of the Sena Kings, who supplanted the Palas, there was, however, a perceptible decline of the Bengali language. The Sena Kings were foreigners and originally belonged to the Brahmin caste, though after being elevated to the royalty, they changed themselves to the Kshatrya caste. As such, they represented militant Brahmanism against the Buddhists and their culture. Hence with them there came the domination of the Brahmin and Sanskrit in Bengal and Bengali. Under the patronage of the Senas and the Brahmins, Sanskrit flourished into brilliance. Though Bengali dragged its existence, it became Sanskritised. It was indeed a time of the decline and decay of the Bengali language and literature.

It was from this decline and decay and from the influence of the Brahmin and Sanskrit that the Muslims saved the Bengali language and literature. The Muslim rulers, who came to Bengal, had, on grounds of political and social necessity, to settle down in Bengal

1. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*.

and adopt Bengali as their language. It was the Muslim Sultans and amirs who, for the first time, invited the much neglected Bengali language to court and gave their liberal patronage to the poets and men of letters. Thus the dying Bengali language received a new lease of life. Under their patronage and encouragement, Hindu as well as Muslim poets and writers vied with one another in displaying their literary talent and developing their mother tongue. Following the example of the Muslim Sultans and amirs, the Hindu chiefs also extended their patronage to Bengali. Hence with the introduction of the Muslim rule in Bengal, there dawned a new age of the Bengali language and literature.

It is interesting to note that the Muslim rulers of Bengal first patronised the translation of the Hindu religious books from Sanskrit into Bengali. It was also in the courts of the Muslim sultans and amirs that the Hindu sastras were discussed.¹ These really helped in bringing about a better social and cultural understanding between the Hindus and Muslims and in introducing a common cultural platform of the two communities of Bengal.

In support of my contention, I think it however desirable to illustrate the Muslim contribution to the Bengali language and literature by a few typical examples.

Under the patronage of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah (1389-1409), Muhammad Saghir composed his epic work on Yusuf-Zalikha. In his eulogy to the Sultan, the poet refers to this fact.²

The poet Krittivasa also composed the Bengali version of the Ramayana under the patronage of the ruler of Gaur. The poet flourished in the fifteenth century and this was the time of the Muslim rule in this country. Moreover, in the description of the King's court, Muslim influence could clearly be seen in the mention of a courtier with the title of Khan.

Bamete Kedar Khan dahine Narayan,
Patra-mitra Shaha raja parihashe man.³

1. S. K. Sen,—*Bangla Sahityer Itihasa*, I, p.

2. Dr. Enamul Haque, *Mah-e-Nao* Karachi.

3. N. K. Bhattacharyya, *Krittivasa Ramayana*, Introduction.

Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (1459-1517) engaged Maladhar Basu in the Bengali translation of the Bhagavata and, for this work, conferred on him the title of Gunaraj Khan. It is known from the introductory lines of the poet's Srikrishnavijaya Kavya.

Gaureshwar dila nam Gunaraj Khan.¹

Sultan Husain Shah (1493-1517) was the greatest patron of the Bengali poets. He was the Akbar of Bengal. His amirs and governors also gave very liberal patronage to the Bengali literature. Due to the patronage of the Sultan and his amirs, Bengali poetical and literary genius reached its high watermark in the reign of Husain Shah and made it the Golden Age of the Bengali literature. Many distinguished poets flourished at the court favour and produced master-pieces of the Bengal literature. The writings of the poets themselves reveal that they received large-hearted patronage from the Sultan and his amirs.

Bipradas, the poet of the Manasavijaya kavya, speaks of Husain Shah.

Sindhu Indu Veda mahi saka pariman,
Nripiati Husain Shah Gaurer Sultan.
Henakale rachila Padmar braja-geet,
Shuniya tribidh luk param peerit.²

Bijayagupta, a poet of the Manasamangal epic, has sung the praises of Husain Shah, saying,

Ritu shunya Veda shashi parimit saka,
Sultan Husain Shah nripiati tilak
Sangrame Arjun raja prabhater rabi,
Nij bahu bale raja shashila prithibee.
Rajar palane praja sukhe bhunje nita,
Muluk Fateyabad bangarora taksim.³

Poet Jashoraj Khan, who composed Srikrishnavijaya kavya, was an officer in the Gaur Court. He has praised Husain Shah in the following words.

Shah Husain jagata bhushan, She-i abi rash jane,
Pancha-Gaureshwer bhuga Purandhar, bhane,Jashraj khane.⁴

1. S. K. Sen—*Bangala Sahityer Itihasha*, I, p.
2. S. K. Sen—*Bangala Sahityer Itihasha*, I.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Husain Shah's viceroys and courtiers were also great patrons of Bengali literature. Paragal Khan, a Muslim and Husain Shah's commander and governor of Chittagong, used to listen in his court to the recitation and discussion of the Mahabharata. This inspired him to have the translation of the great epic from Sanskrit into Bengali so that it might be understood by the people in general. So, he ordered his court poet Kavindra Paramesvardas to compose the Bengali version of the Mahabharata. In the introduction to his work, Kavindra Paramesvardas praises Husain Shah and Paragal Khan and mentions this fact:

Bhupati Husain Shah haye mahamati
 Pancham Gaurete zar param ze khyati
 Ashtra shashtri bisharad pratape apar
 Kalizuge ai Veja prithibeer shar
 Nripati Husain Shaha Gaurer Ishwar
 Tan ak senapati
 Lashkar Paragal Khan mahamati
 Shubarna bashanpaila ashwa bayugati
 Lashkari hishai pai atlanta chalia
 Chatigrame chali aila (harashita hai)

Lashkar Paragal guner nidan
 Ashtadash—bharathe zahar abadhan
 Dane Kalpataru sheze mahagunshahi
 Kutuhale karaila bharath—panchali¹

Kavindra Paramesvardas composed upto the female section of the Mahabharata. Paragal's son and successor to the command and viceroyalty of Chittagong, Chhuti Khan was also, like his father, interested in the discussion of Hindu sastras in his court. Following his father, Chhuti Khan patronised his court poet Srikrishna Nandi in translating the Mahabharata upto the Horse sacrifice section. In his eulogy to his patron, the poet has revealed this fact:

¹ S K Sen—*Bangla Sahityer Itihasa*, 225

Pandite mandit sabha Khan mahamati
 Akdin bashi gachhe bandhab shanghati.
 Shunila bharat-potha ati punyakatha
 Mahamuni Jaiminir puran—sanhita.
 Ashvamedha Katha shuni prasanna riday.
 Sabhakhande adeshila Khan mahashaya.

.....

Deshi bashe ahi katha kariya prachair
 Sancharao Kirti mor jagata vitar.
 Tahan adesh manya mathe aropia
 Shrikar Nandi a kale panchali rachia.¹

Husain Shah's descendants also patronised the Bengali poets. His son Nasrat Shah, while a prince, made a translation of the Mahabharata by Kavindra Peramesvardas. This is revealed from the writings of the poet.

Srizukta nayak Sheze Nasrat Khan
 Rachaila panchali guner nidan.²

Kavishekhar, an officer and poet of Husain Shah, was also known as Vidyapati. He also served under Nasrat Shah (1519-32). The poet has referred to both Husain Shah and Nasrat Shah in his poem.

Vana—i Bidyaputi naba kabishekhar puhubi doshar-kaha,
 Shah Husam Vringa shama nagar mulati shrenaek jaha
 Kaobishekher Vana aprup rup dekhi,
 Rai Nusrat Shah bhulali Kamal mukhi,
 Bidyapati Vani
 Ashesh anumani

Sultan Shah Naseer madhup bhule Kamala-Lani ;

Naseera Shah she zune
 Zare hanla madan bane

Chiranjib rahu pancha Gauresnwar kabi Bidyapati Vane.³

The above poem expresses that Sultan Nasrat Shah was also attached to lyrical music. Nasrat Shah's son Firuz Shah (1532-33)

1. S. K. Sen *Bangala Sahityer Itihasha* I.

2. Ibid. 155

3. D. C. Sen—*Bangla Bhasha o Sahityer*, p. 82.

was also a patron of the Bengali literature. This is known from the Vidyasagar Kavya of the great poet Sudhar.¹

A Muslim poet named Farzullah compiled Gurakhkhvijaya in the sixteenth century. A work on the activities of Gurakhshanath,² Gurakshavijaya is considered a wonderful piece of Bengali literature.

Among the Muslim poets of the period of the Muslim rule in Bengal the names of Daulat Qazi and Alaol come out prominent. They flourished in the seventeenth century and wrote under the patronage of the rulers of Arakan. Lur-Chandrani, an epic in Bengali, has immortalised Daulat. Alaol has also earned undying fame by translating into Bengali the well-known work Padmavat of the famous Hindī poet Malik Muhammad Jaisi.³

Besides these, there were other Poets like Qutbán, Alam and Saribid Khan who contributed a good deal to the development of the Bengali literature in the period of the Muslim rule in Bengal.⁴

The above facts speak eloquently of the Muslim contribution to the prosperity of the Bengali literature, an important aspect of the Bengali culture, in the Muslim period.

Indeed through the medium of the common linguistic and literary culture the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal came closer together and were in the process of union. When the distance between the two communities was thus narrowed down through the language and literature, other factors contributed to the bridging of the social gap between them and introducing them to one common social platform.

For reason of state, the Muslim rulers of Bengal followed a liberal policy towards the Hindus and appointed them to high offices in the state. The rise of Raja Kans illustrates this fact. Originally an official of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah (1389-1409) Raja Kans became the practical ruler in the reign of the weak Ilyas Shahi sultan. Ruknuddin Barbak Shah had also Hindu officials and courtiers, one of

1. S. K. Sen—*Islami Bangla Sahitya*

2. Gurakhshanath was born in Jalandhar in the Panjab in the eleventh century and was a disciple of Minanath, a founder of the Nath religious order. Minanath was born in Backerganj in the tenth century.

3. S. K. Sen, *Islami Bangla Sahitya*, p. 1.—31

4. Ibid., p. 8-14

whom named Kuladhar received the titles of Satyaraj Khan and Suvaraj Khan from the Sultan. His personal physician was also a Hindu named Anantasena.¹

Hindu genius rose to its zenith the Bengali Muslim court at the time of Husain Shah. Rup and Sanatan, two Hindu brothers, became the private secretary (Dabir-i-Khas) and chief secretary (Sarkar-i-Mulk) of the Sultan respectively. Gopinath Basu, entitled Purandhar Khan was also a minister of Husain Shah. Kesavachhatri was also an important official in his court. Mukunda Sarkar was Husain Shah's personal physician and a courtier.²

In the reigns of the Karrani sultans of Bengal also, the Hindus are found in important offices. At the time of Sulaiman Karrani (1565-72, Ramananda Guha and his sons Bhabananda, Gunananda and Sivananda held responsible posts in the Government.³ Bhabananda and Gunananda rose to the headship of the revenue department.⁴ Bhabananda's son Srihari was the boon companion of Suleman's son Daud. In the reign of Daud Srihari, however, became his chief confidant and vazir and obtained the lofty title of Vikramaditya. His brother Janakiballav was also a chief of the revenue department and recipient of the title of Basanta Rai.⁵

This association of the Hindus in administration and at the court of the Muslims paved the way for the political and cultural fusion of the two communities of Bengal. The Muslims honoured the Hindus with Khilats and titles. The Ramayana of Krittivasa refers to one Hindu courtier bearing the title of Khan.⁶ Barbak Shah conferred the titles of Gunaraj Khan on Maladhar Basu, Satyaraj Khan and Suvaraj Khan on Kuladhar and Sataraj Khan on Maladhar Basu's son.⁷ Purandhar and other received the title of Khan from Husain Shah.

1. S. K. Sen, *Prachin Bangla or Bangali*, p. 196-7 and 42.

2. Ibid.

3. Pratapaditya Charitra, p. 4-9.

4. S. C. Mitra, *Jessore Khulner Ithiasha*, II. 13.

5. Badayuni, II, 181 and 195; Tabaqat, II, 233; *Pratapaditya Charitra*, 4-9.

6. See p.

7. See p.

This naturally created a Muslim atmosphere in the Hindu society of Bengal. The Hindu courtier, officials and their relations imitated their rulers. They were greatly influenced by the Muslim culture, food, dress, and manners. It is known from the contemporary literature that Jagai and Madhai, two Brahmins of the time of Chaitanya, would eat beef, read Persian, keep beards and put on pajama and shoes like the Muslims.¹

Indeed, due to the social and cultural contact with the Muslims, a good number of the Bengali Hindu families became Muslims in manners and refinement. They were like the westernised Indians of the British period. Maladhar Khan family, Sher Khan Brahmins and Peerali Brahmins were some of the Muslimised Hindu clans in the Bengali Hindu society.² These clans reflected the great influence of the Muslim society on the Hindu society and the cultural fusion of the two communities of Bengal, in the period of Muslim rule in this country.

1 Brindabandas—*Chaitanya Bhagavata* and Jagannanda—*Chaitanya-mangal*

2 N K Bhattachari, *Krittivasa Ramayana*, introduction, and Byumkesh Banerjee *Itihasa*

Jinnah and Muslim Political Separation

By

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It has become fashionable, since the inception of Pakistan, to trace the genesis of Muslim separatist movement in politics to Sir Sayyid. A thorough study of the post-mutiny Muslim politics establishes the creation of political consciousness to the efforts of Sir Sayyid, but to give him the credit of being the originator of the Separatist Movement is a matter of interpretation of facts rather than their objective presentation.

If by separation we mean the ultimate self-determination of the Muslim nation, and its inherent right to organize itself into an independent Muslim State, then such an idea was never in the mind of Sir Sayyid. A glance at the contemporary political thought in the West, would convince any student of Indian Politics that the idea of self-determination became a general practice at a later date in Europe and elsewhere. Sir Sayyid being a staunch supporter of the ideas and institutions of the West could not have been the precursor of an idea which developed into maturity at a later date even in the West. Moreover, a close study of the Census figures¹ in the areas which comprise Pakistan now also points out that Sir Sayyid could not have thought in terms of territorial and "national" separation.

If, on the other hand, separation is taken to mean the fundamental differences in religion, culture, "orthopraxy", and other differences, then indeed Sir Sayyid was a champion of separation. But in that case any Muslim, by dint of his being a Muslim, notwithstanding

¹ Even on an All India basis the Muslim formed 22·6 per cent. of the total population of India in 1881 (against 72 per cent Hindus) and 22·4 per cent in 1891.

to what section or denomination he belonged, was essentially a separatist.

We should not forget, in our enthusiasm, to note that political separatism could only operate in a country which had learnt the working of western democratic institutions. So long as the democratic system did not operate in this sub-continent the idea of separation could not have been disseminated.¹

It is granted that Sir Sayyid was opposed to the Muslim participation in the Congress, and was also responsible for founding separate Muslim political organizations, but these instances are not sufficient to conclude that he thought in terms of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent.

Muslim separatism in polities (because they already formed a separate religious and cultural entity) may reasonably be traced back to the famous Simla Deputation in 1906, the result of which was the foundation of the consequent separatist movement.

This observation can also be confirmed from the subsequent developments. The Muslims clung to their right of Separate Electorates throughout the quarter of century after 1906. They were three times faced with the constitutional problems of India (in 1919, 1928 and 1930-32), when they demanded successfully the concession of Separate Electorates. The non-Muslim politicians, especially during the twenties, considered the principle of separate representation and declared that unless this 'obstacle' was removed, India could not march on the road of Freedom and Prosperity. Whenever some of the Muslim leaders offered² a renunciation of Separate Electorates, they imposed such conditions as made the offer just another substitute of the underlying principle.

In view of these facts, one can easily say that the Muslim political Separatism in India originated, at any rate, after the death of Sir Sayyid Ahmed.

1. The element of indirect elections was introduced in 1892, while Lord Minto declared in 1903 that the system of Government he had introduced was not the system of "responsible Government".

2. The "Muslim Proposal" of March 20, 1927 for instance.

It would be an over-simplification to state that the development of separatism followed a calculated, and a well-canalized channel. On the other hand, the movement had its vicissitudes like any other political movement. If the whole process could be compared to not-too-self-evident a man standing on one side of not too big a ditch, and making up his mind to jump over; then the hesitancy he displays before his final and successful jump is made, represents the vicissitudes the movement laboured under till it came out successful.

Starting in 1906, the separatist tendencies settled down as an accepted principle of the Indian political scene by 1916 when the Lucknow Pact was signed. The Muslim demands embodied in this Pact are cardinal to the later development. The significance of the Pact lies in the fact that the Indian National Congress, a non-Muslim organization on the whole, sought a "modus operandi" with the Muslim League, recognized as representing Muslim India, for wresting political power, to a small degree, from the hands of the alien rulers. The United stand put up by the League and the Congress against the authorities vis-a-vis the constitutional reforms is both the semblance of an outward unity and the reminder of an internal compromise. Such an appreciation of the Lucknow Pact necessarily involves the second step in the development of Muslim Separatism.

In the subsequent decade the Muslim faced a periodical position. There was a remarkable amity between the Muslim League and the Congress, while the second important organization, the Khilafat Committee, also co-operated with the Congress. As the League drifted away the Khilafat fizzled out and the communal situation gradually deteriorated the Muslims were prone to think of their religious and political rights and safeguards. The utter failure of the "Unity" conferences provide a third link in the chain of Separatism, but the very fact that "Unity" Conferences were being organized to tell any other story. If Separatism was there, it was only half-hearted, half conscious movement.

The conscious attempts at complete Separatism started later.

The story of the Separatist movement can best be studied in the context of Jinnah's political life-story. The choice is not arbitrary

nor is it emotional. His life-story and his Political activities represent, to a large extent, the various phases of the development of Muslim Politics in the sub continent. The precise reasons for selecting his career as the reflector of Separatism are as follows —

- I He had the essential background of being educated in England. Separatism in its final analysis is a Western movement.
- II He worked in co-operation with, and as a prominent Leader of the Indian National Congress, the All India Muslim League and the Home Rule League
- III He was essentially interested in the Indian political scene, and did not have much inclination towards the Khilafat, or other Pan Islamic attempts or agitations¹, till quite late in his career
- IV He was one of the prime movers of the various "Unity" conferences, and for quite a long period a great supporter of "United India", an exponent of "Motherland", "Indian People" and the "Nation"
- V He was a Member of the India Legislative Assembly, a position which gave him a thorough insight into the pattern of constitutional development from 1909 to 1947
- VI Though a slow convert to Separatism, he became the ardent champion of it, and if personalities leave their impress on political movements, his was certainly such a personality²

At the outset Jinnah was not even in favour of the Separate Electorates. As soon as they were incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1909, he moved a "very strongly worded" resolution

¹ He referred to the Khilafat once, in his 1916 Presidential Address and again in his Address to the League in Calcutta September, 1920 and only twice did he appeal to Mr Montague for the release of Ali Brothers

² These observations are based on the study of Syed Mrs Naidu and Mr V Narayana Iyer's sketch of the life of Jinnah published in Natesan's "Eminent Musalmans", and his article in 'Indian Review' January, 1926 — p 43-48

condemning them.⁶ Supporting the resolution with a speech he pointed out the "obnoxious virus" of Separate Electorates was being introduced in the body-politic of India with "evil designs". He warned the Congress that if Separate Electorates were to continue the "two communities" of India would "drift away from each other".

Just before the Lucknow Pact he had re-considered his views, had became a supporter of Separate Electorates and the Muslim demands for adequate safeguards. He reconciled the Muslim demands with the idea of "national" progress as is clear from the following words :

".....Now I come to the all absorbing question which stirred India because of the declaration of the 'Entente Cordiale' between the Hindus and Muslim made in the city of Bombay last Christmas. I believe all thinking men are thoroughly convinced that the keynote of our real progress lies in the good-will, concord, harmony and co-operation between the two great sister communities. The true focus of opinion is entered in their union.....

"There is but one question.....which has kept the two communities hitherto apart.....The Muslims want proper, adequate and effective representation in the council chambers of the country, a claim which no-right-minded Hindu disputes for a moment. But the Muslims further require that representation.....should be secured to them by means of Separate Electorates.....To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community.....I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu brethren, that in the present state of position they should

1. At the 1910 session of the Indian National Congress. His early leanings towards the Congress were confessed by him in the Legislative Assembly: "Sir, I might say that I learnt my first lessons in politics at the feet of Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee. I was associated with him as one of his followers and I looked up to him a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. Sir, as far as Mr. Day was concerned, he was a personal friend of mine. I have enjoyed his hospitality and he was one with whom I worked for many years". Quoted in *Indian Review—1926—p. 44*,

try to win the confidence and the trust of Muslims who are, after all, *in the minority* in the country. If they are determined to have separate electorates, no resistance should be shown to their demands"¹

In December 1916, Jinnah presided over the historic session of the League where he assumed the role of a spokesman of Muslim India". In his address he fully showed the general Muslim trend regarding politics, their position vis-aviz the Hindus, and their attitude towards the Government. He recognized that the Muslim League was a communal organization, and that its presidentship was the highest honour the community could do to a person who had served the communal interests. "I am fully aware" he said, "of how little I have done to deserve such distinction"

He announced that the Muslim solidarity for which the League was striving was fully reconcilable with the wider interest of the Indian Nation. He emphatically believed that the people were awaking to a new sense of their destiny and that "New Spirit" was afloat. The Muslim also should partake of the New Spirit"

"A new spirit of earnestness confidence and resolution is aboard in the land. In all directions are visible the stirrings of a new life. The Musalmans of India would be false to themselves and the traditions of their past, had they not shared to the full the new hope that is moving *India's patriotic sons today*"

"The most significant and hopeful aspect of this spirit is that it has taken its rise from a new-born movement *in the direction of national unity* which has brought Hindus and Muslims together"

"Indeed the person who fails to read in the Hindu Muslim rapprochement within the last few years the first great sign of the birth of *United India* has little knowledge of the political conditions"

¹ Presidential Address to the 16th Bombay Provincial Conference — Ahmedabad, October 1916 Sayyid "Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Life & Study" p 851—52. Full text, pp 824—856

Jinnah recognized that the League had been founded on the principle of the "retention" of Muslim communal individuality strong and unimpaired in any constitutional readjustment", but nevertheless the League was ready to work for the future of India shoulder to shoulder with other political organizations. It is clear from the following extract how the Muslim at the time thought that their separate political organization was conducive to the hirth of a "United India".

" In its general outlook and ideal as regards the future, the All-India Muslim League stands a breast of the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any *patriotic efforts* for the advancement of the *country as a whole*. In fact, this readiness of the educated Muslims.....to work shoulder to shoulder with other Indian communities for the common good of all is to my mind the strongest proof of the value and need of separate political organization *at present*. I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life, and have been no lover of sectarian cries, *but it appears to me that the reproach of "separatism", sometimes levelled at Musalmans is singularly inapt and wide of the mark*. When I see this great communal organization rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of "United India." Jinnah, at this juncture regarded the Muslims a minority, and advocated their cause as a minority cause. He pleaded that the Muslim minority must be given a sense of security before it could be expected to march with the Congress :

" A *Minority* must, above everything else, have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavour in the *national task*. To Musalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as regards their political existence as a community. Whatever my individual opinion may be, *I am here to interpret and express the sense of overwhelming body of Muslim opinion* of which the All India Muslim League is the Political organ."¹

1. The quotations are taken from Jinnah's 1916 Presidential Address—Text in Sayyid —pp. 856—889

A close scrutiny of the Presidential Address displays that Jinnah, as the spokesman of Muslim India, was hoping that a "New Spirit" of "national unity" was dawning in India, he referred to India as the "Motherland", to the Muslims as a "Community" or a "minority", denounced any hints of "separatism", advocated Muslim demand for adequate "safeguards", and then thought in terms of a "United India", and "Indian Nation" and the "tasks of nation-building".

In 1916, the Muslim separatist tendencies were still submerged in the hope of a "New Spirit". They still regarded their separate political existence as an essential and contributing factor to the buildings of the "Indian Nation". This, indeed, was the second step.

The over-increasing Hindu-Muslim antagonism and rivalry, the outbreak of communal riots, and the inception of the religious controversies, did not force the "1916 school" Muslims to turn away from their professed goal of an Indian Nation. Jinnah, for one, made a number of bids to bring the community back to the 1916 frame of mind.

He issued a number of statements and worked hard for achieving communal harmony, "national" unity and inter-communal amity.¹

With the Lucknow Pact as the guiding principle Jinnah criticised the Montagu Chelmsford Report and he called himself a "congressman". He said that "the Congress League scheme is the crystallization of *Indian National* opinion (and) . . . it is clear that in most vital matters the demand of the Congress-League Scheme is not met."²

In his evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, Jinnah narrated the history of constitutional development, the political activities of the League and the Congress since 1912 and pointed out that the Report of the Secretary of State

¹ Though Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru describes Jinnah as a "lonely figure" in Indian politics in the twenties, (because of his resignation from the Home Rule League, and the Indian National Congress) He was still an Advocate of '1916 School' till he criticised the Nehru Report in the Legislative Assembly. Jinnah himself attributed the change to the failure of any communal agreement at the Round Table Conferences. *Jamil (ed.) "Speeches and Writings of Jinnah"*—p. 38

² Press statement on 23rd July, 1918 (Text in Sayyid—pp. 222-230)

and the Viceroy had advanced untenable arguments for not accepting the Congress-League Scheme.¹ He refuted the arguments by detailed reference to the history of Responsible Government.” He advocated that the system of responsibility should also be introduced in the Centre.²

Having resigned from the Home Rule League,³ he wrote to Gandhi condemning the non-co-operation programme, and insisted that the “Nationalists” would do well to work for a constructive programme, “The only way for *the Nationalists*” wrote he “is to unite and work for a programme which is universally accepted.....”. He stated that Gandhi’s methods had split and divided almost every institution and were responsible for estranging the two communities.⁴

Even after his resignation from the Indian National Congress, he was considered to be as good as any Congressman. “If Mr. Jinnah is not to-day a Congressman” wrote the “*Bombay Chronicle*” editorially “he has not, like many others, either betrayed the cause of his country or exploited his disagreement with the Congress for purposes of personal aggrandizement. He remains, therefore as a true servant of the country as any Congressman.⁵.....” In his election Manifesto, he declared that the “*popular cause* and the welfare of India will be my keynote and the guiding principles.⁶.....”,

He returned to the “1916 school” of thought in another statement issued on the eve of the Lahore Session of the Muslim League of which he was the President-elect. He stated that one of the objects

1. Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill—Vol. II (Minutes of Evidence) pp. 212—216.)
2. He referred to the enfranchised percentages in England since 1835 and in other European countries in 1919, p. 213.
3. In October, 1920.
4. Letter to Gandhi. (Text in Sayyid, p.p. 264—266).

He also opposed Non-co-operation in a speech on the sixth anniversary of Gokhale on 19th February, 1921. His disagreement with the political methods of Gandhi, as enunciated in this speech, does not amount to Separatism.

Quoted by Sayyid, p. 295.

6. Ibid.: , p. 294. The Manifesto was issued on 19th September, 1924.

this session was "to bring about, in due course, and by means of All India Muslim League organization once more a complete settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims as was done in Lucknow in 1916. The League is not going to adopt a policy..... which will..... be antagonistic to the Indian National Congress.... I believe it will proceed on lines which are best calculated to further the *general national interests, not forgetting the particular interests of the Muslim Community*".

And again :

"Hindu-Muslim Unity in my opinion is a question entirely within the range of practical politics and will be brought about as it was done at Lucknow in 1916."¹

That Jinnah had not embarked upon the serious consideration of Separatism before the publication of the Nehru Report, is amply proved by his frantic efforts to bring about a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question. He made many appeals and worked consistently for Hindu-Muslim Unity. His pronouncements in this connection display that his faith in Hindu-Muslim amity had not been shaken.

"The Lucknow Pact was calculated to protect the minorities by two methods. One was greater representation than their number warranted This was recognized in Reform Scheme... The other principle of protecting the minority was a provision that no resolution concerning a minority should be proceeded with, if three-fourth of the members of that community in the Legislature were opposed to it. This provision; however, remained a dead letter . . . The two principles of safeguarding the minorities should be accepted as in the Lucknow Pact".²

And when the Congress in 1927 session adopted the Unity Resolution moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu,³ Jinnah expressed himself thus :

1 Statement on 13th May, 1924 Reproduced by Syyid, pp 305-309

2. Speech in the All Parties Conference on 23rd and 24th January, 1925 (Reported in "Indian Review," February, 1925, p 185) Jinnah made an effort for Unity in September—October, 1927

3. At Madras Session

"..... I welcome the hand of fellowship extended to us by Hindu leaders from the platform of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha.¹ For, to me this offer is more valuable than any concession which the British Government can make. This is indeed a bright day, and for achieving this unity, thanks are due to Lord Birkenhead".² Jinnah was still claiming to be a nationalist:

"I, Sir, stand here with a clear conscience, and I say that I am a Nationalist first, a Nationalist second, and a Nationalist last..... I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Musalman, or a Hindu, for God's sake do not import the discussion of communal matters into this House, and degrade this assembly, which we desire should become a real National Parliament".³

The Twenties did not see Jinnah disappointed with the Hindu-Muslim question, and to start thinking in Separatist terms. The Nehru Report was the turning point in this respect. But still there were many years before he became the outright champion of Separatism. The years 1928—1934 may be considered the transitional period. He opposed the Nehru Committee Report in the Legislative Assembly in the following words :

"Speaking with all responsibility, I make it clear that I am not in accord with Congress policy or programme. I stand here firmly and deliberately assert that the policy of my school of thought is in favour of the estab-

1. He referred to the Resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha regarding "Cow-Protection" and "Music before Mosques" passed at the special session of the Mahasabha (held in the Congress Pandal) at Madras on 29th December, 1927.
2. Speech at the League Meeting at Calcutta. Reported by "*Indian Review*" January, 1928 p. 43.
3. Quoted by Kailash Chandra: "*Tragedy of Jinnah*". p. 47.

tishment of responsible government, nothing less, nothing more. My second point is——and I do not wish to enter into a controversy but must make it clear——that the Nehru Report, speaking now on behalf of the Musalmans, is nothing more than a counter proposal to Muslim proposals and has not been accepted by the Musalmans'.

Rejecting the Report he still reminded the two communities

"If you wish to live as decent men in this country, settle the Hindu-Muslem questions".¹ He showed the same enthusiasm for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim question at the First Round Table Conference :²

"..... If the power of the Government is transferred to a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature, the first and foremost thing we have to provide is that the various interests are safeguarded, and you cannot possibly frame any constitution, unless you have provided safeguards for the rights and the interests which exist in India. First there is the *minority question*, which we shall have to tackle, and unless you create that sense of security among the minorities, which will secure a willing co-operation and allegiance to the State, no constitution which you may frame will work successfully.".³

When he decided to stay in England after the First Round Table Conference, he told Reuter that he had stayed "to fight India's battle

I Speech in the Legislative Assembly on 12th March, 1929 Jinnah had earlier criticized the Report in the All Parties Covention at Calcutta in December, 1928. Jinnah was condemned for this. Here are typical specimens : "The fact really was that Mr Jinnah had entirely miscalculated the chances of unity in Muslim political thought and rather than prejudice his Rapproachement with the Shafites, he went out of his way to condemn the Nehru Report in the Assembly and create a scene" ("Indian Review" April 1929 p 250) "Arguments seldom fail a clever lawyer" (Kailash Chandra pp 61)

2 Speaking in the Plenary Session of the First Round Table Conference (November 20, 1930), he made it clear that there were four parties in Conference i.e British, the Indian Princes, the Hindus and the Muslims

3 Indian Round Table Coference, First Session—Proceedings p 148

in England'.¹ A few months later he again referred to the communal problem :

"My opinion is that the Hindu-Muslim question should be settled without delay and the Conference should be resumed at once. Otherwise one of the greatest opportunities in the history of India would be lost. I appeal to the Hindus to win over the Muslim and cannot put my appeal in better terms than Lord Irwin did in Bombay to the majority community in such clear and well reasoned language".²

In another speech he said :

"I am convinced that there is no hope for India without a real and genuine Hindu-Muslim unity which can only be achieved by the Hindus who are a majority. There must be a real change of heart. It is then alone that India will command respect all over the world and her voice will become really effective".³

The last bid for settling the Hindu-Muslim question in "1916 frame of mind" was made by Jinnah after he was re-elected to the Legislative Assembly; He moved the Assembly to accept the Communal Award "so far as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned". Supporting the move he said that though he was not satisfied with the award personally the Hindus and Muslims should accept it till such time as another solution of the question come forth.⁴

In the meantime, Dr. Iqbal presented his views about the future of Muslim India. In his historic address at Allahabad he said :

"The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is perfectly justified..... I want to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single

1. *Indian Review* : February, 1931—p. 148. He intended to enter Parliament for this purpose.
2. *Indian Review* : 1931—p. 389. It must be noticed that in the meantime Sir Mohammad Iqbal had pronounced the "Separatist Theory".
3. A speech in London : April, 1933 : *Indian Review*—p. 282.
4. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly : February 7, 1934. The Council of All India Muslim League adopted a similar Resolution on 2nd April, 1934.

Muslim State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without it, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of Muslims, at least those of North-West India'.¹

A typical Muslim reaction to this statement was the comment made by Sir Mohamad Shafi in course of his speech in a meeting of the Minorities Committee of the First Round Table Conference. His attention being drawn to it by a remark of Dr. Moonje, he made the following statement:

"If Sir Mohammad Iqbal said that there will be a Hindu State in the whole of India by reason of the Hindus being in a permanent and unalterable majority in the Central Government, when there will be six Hindu States out of the eight Governor's Provinces, by reason of a similar unalterable majority in these six provinces, there ought to be four Musalman States, because Musalmans in those four Provinces are in a majority, I see nothing wrong in that.

"But if he said anything in connection with the foundation of an independent Muslim State outside the British Commonwealth of Nations, in the ordinary sense in which such a phrase is used, then, I, on behalf of the whole Musalman Delegation, repudiate that I absolutely repudiate that on behalf of the whole delegation. But Mr. Prime Minister, I can well imagine a Mohammadan exasperated by pronouncements of the type that my friend Dr. Moonje has been making in different parts of India, possibly in a moment of thoughtlessness saying similar things".²

On the other hand, Iqbal had not expounded his views "in a moment of thoughtlessness" as it is evident from his correspondence with Mr. Jinnah.³ In these letters Iqbal gave serious consideration to the Muslim problem in general and the theory of Separatism in

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1. Presidential Address of Sir Mohammad Iqbal on 29th December, 1930, at the Allahabad Session of the All India Muslim League. (Text in Annual Registrar 1930: Vol. II - pp. 834-345).
 2. I. R. T. Conference: Proceedings of sub-committee Vol. III pp. 60-61.
 3. The correspondence started on 23rd May, 1936, and the last letter of Iqbal was dated 10th November 1937.

particular. He opined that the All India Muslim League must become a truly muslim representative body to fight for the future of Muslim India.

"While we are ready to co-operate with other progressive Parties in the century" he wrote to Jinnah, "we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslim... From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence".¹

Not only from the cultural but also from the economic point of view Iqbal struck the same note :

"The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last two hundred years.....The question therefore is : how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty ? And the whole future of League depends on the League's activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promises I am sure the Muslim masses would remain indifferent to it as before. Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years.....in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems, it is necessary to redistribute the country to provide one or more Muslim States with absolute majorities".²

Referring to the aggressive attitude adopted by Hindus and their political organizations recently he again wrote :

"In these circumstances, it is obvious that the only way to peach India is a redistribution of the country on lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities.....Why should not the Muslim North

1. *Iqbal's letter to Jinnah*, dated the 20th March, 1937.

2. *Iqbal's letter to Jinnah*, dated the 28th May, 1937.

West India and Bengal be considered as a nation entitled to self-determination ? " ¹

Contemporary sayings and activities of Jinnah reveal to what great an extent he was influenced by these letters. His own estimation of these letters leaves no doubt about this.

" I think " wrote he, " these letters are of very great historical importance particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions " ²

Jinnah agreed with the views of the Poet of the East regarding the future of Muslim India. He followed a well-calculated policy which was conducive to the inauguration and formal declaration of the Muslim Separatism. From the date of his rejoining the League to his famous declaration of March, 1940, he outlined a well planned ideology and programme which consisted of the following main steps .

- (a) First of all, he devoted himself to the proper re-organization of the All India Muslim League with a view to make it the only representative body of the Muslims. After having achieved such a position whatever was pronounced from its platform would have the general support of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims, and as such could be considered a unanimous Muslim demand for all practical purposes.
- (b) Organizing the League as the sole representative of Muslim India, automatically reduced the Indian National Congress to a Hindu body only without doing so the position of the League would be dubious.
- (c) It was necessary to show that the offers of the Congress for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim questions were half-hearted.

1. Letter dated June 21st, 1937

2. "Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah" p. 4

- (d) The ultimate aim of the Congress was to establish Hindu "Raj".
- (e) He prepared the Muslim mind for receiving the creed of separatism in a gradual manner.
- (f) He brought forward the international aspect of Islam to give the Muslims an inspiration for gathering round the Muslim League.
- (g) He started throwing indirect hints about his considered viewpoint. The examples etc. which he brought in the text of his speeches clearly indicate the working of his mind.
- (h) He declared the Muslims a Nation and prepared them to occupy their legitimate place under the Indian Sun.
- (i) Before he declared Separatism as the new Muslim policy, he called upon the Government and the British Parliament to consider do novo the whole problem of the Constitution of India.

These observations are amply proved by his activities, his speeches writings and statements during 1936 and 1940.¹

The Muslim League undertook "the policy and programme of mass-contact" on the 12th April, 1936.

A Central Election Board consisting of 35 members was formed to contest the 1937 elections. Provincial Election Boards were affiliated to it. The efforts of these Boards brought 60 to 70 per cent of the seats to Muslim Leaguers.

Provincial and District Leagues were organized by the hundreds.²

1. Jinnah had set himself a period of about five years for preparing the Muslim mind :

"To make a good, efficient soldier, you at least require a year. To make a good subaltern at least five years are required. (*Speeches* -- pp. 42-43.)

2. "*Speeches and writings of Jinnah*" - pp. 23-25.

A committee of ladies was appointed at the Patna session to "enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the League", because Jinnah thought that "women can do a great deal within their homes even under Purdah".¹

For making the League a really Muslim representative body, he appealed to his people :

"Enlist yourself by hundreds and thousands as quickly as you can as members of the All-India Muslim League; Provincial Leagues and District Leagues. Organize yourself and establish your solidarity and complete unity".²

"My appeal to you is this: Come to the platform of the League. If Muslims are united the settlement would come sooner than you think Even those who are against us will realize that they are under a serious delusion and their only course is to join the League and make the Musalmans speak with one voice".³

"..... I appeal to everyone: Come into the Muslim League. It is your organization, and you can make it as you like and what you like".⁴

Jinnah declared the Congress to be a Hindu-body.

"The Congress Press may glamour as it likes, they may bring out their morning, afternoon, evening and night editions, the Congress leaders may cry as much as they like that Congress is a national body. But I say it is not true. The Congress is nothing but a Hindu-body. That is the truth and the Congress leaders know it".⁵

He went a step further and said that the Congress did not represent all the Hindus.⁶

1. *Speeches and writings of Jinnah* pp 138-139

2. Presidential Address at Lucknow, October, 1937

3. Speech at Muslim University Union, 5th February, 1938. He stressed that he was "trying to make the Muslim League completely representative of the Muslim opinion"

4. Presidential Address at Patna, December, 1938.

5. *Op cit* p 68.

6. *Speeches & Writings* p 68

And again :

"I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion and it has been proved to demonstration that the Congress is a Hindu-body".¹

He also referred to the Congress as a "self-styled national body" having a "Communal Character".²

Jinnah entered into negotiations with Rajendra Prasad for settling the Hindu-Muslim question. This is how he described it : "A formula was evolved but the Hindus won't look at it". He said that the various attempts from 1924 to 1936 to solve the problem had come to this - "nothing doing". After the Round Table Conferences he felt "disappointed and depressed" and thought he could not change the Hindu mentality" in this respect.³

He blamed the Congress leadership for adopting a policy which was not conducive to a settlement and was calculated to disrupt the Muslim solidarity :

"The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu....."⁴

"No settlement with the majority is possible, as no Hindu leader speaking with any authority shows any concern or genuine desire for it....."⁵

"The Congress High Command speaks with different voices..."⁶

"I am convinced and you agree with me that the Congress policy is to divide the Muslim among themselves".⁷

1. Reply to Gandhi's article on Hindu-Muslim Unity.

2. Article in "*Time & Tide*".

3. Speech at Aligarh. One need not go into the details of these negotiations, except knowing that they were not successful.

4. *Op. cit.* : pp. 37-38.

5. Presidential Address at Lucknow.

6. *Op. cit.* : p. 29.

7. *Speech at Aligarh.*

He put the responsibility for the failure of the settlement on the Congress : "The Congress has now, you must be aware, killed every hope of Hindu-Muslim settlement in the right royal fashion of Fascism".¹

He deplored the integrity of Gandhi and other Congress leaders when they referred to this question

"I would have been inclined to respond to Gandhi's appeal had he and other Congress leaders practiced what they preached about the necessity for a cordial atmosphere".²

In his Aligarh Speech in March, 1940, he said that the Congress had been playing "hide and seek in the matter of Hindu-Muslim settlement".³

Jinnah made it clear more than once during these years that the ultimate aim of the Hindus was to establish Hindu-Raj. He based his assertion on the Congress rule in the six Congress-majority provinces. The shape of things to come under this Raj were described by him :

"Hindi is to be the national language of all India, and Bande Matram is to be the national song and is to be forced upon all. The Congress flag is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry".⁴

He charged Gandhi for having schemed to bring it about :

"Who is the genius behind it ? Mr Gandhi. I have no hesitation in saying that it is Mr Gandhi who is destroying the ideal with which the Congress was started. He is the one man responsible for turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism. His ideal is to revive Hindu religion and establish Hindu-Raj in this country, and he is utilizing the Congress to further his object".⁵

The Hindu Raj, he argued was possible only because the Western democratic institutions, which were not suited to India, were being implanted here. "Democratic systems" he wrote in an article in

1. Patna Address.

2. Statement to the Press on Deliverance Day

3. *Op. cit.* p. 135.

4. *Ibid* : pp. 27-70 and 97.

5. Patna Address.

the "*Time and Tide*", "based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India, and this simple fact is the root cause of India's all constitutional ills". He emphasized that the "majority" and "minority" positions in India were unalterable and the application of Western democratic methods had "resulted in a permanent communal majority government ruling over minorities, exercising its powers and functions and utilizing the machinery of Government to establish the domination and supremacy of the majority communal rule over the minorities".

The argument was strengthened by the fact that Indian Mosalmans were a nation different from the Hindu nation. "A parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the majority nation".¹

He was fed up with the Congress and its "cause of a High Command". Before he made the famous 1940 speech at Lahore, he had been preparing the Muslim mind by throwing a number of hints in his speeches and statements.

Immediately after the break-up of his negotiations with Rajendra Prasad, he finished his statement on what had transpired between them on these significant words :

"Service, suffering and sacrifice are absolutely essential conditions before we can achieve anything big and secure our rightful place in the national life of the country".²

In his Presidential Address at Lucknow, he again hinted :

"The Muslim League stands for full *national democratic self-government for India*....." "I want the Mosalmans to believe in themselves and take their destiny in their own hands....." "there is the magic power in your hands. Take your vital decisions - they may be grave and momentous

1. Article in "*Time and Tide*" 19th January, 1940. Though the Hindus were in a majority in six provinces, there were in a minority in N.W.F.P., Punjab, Sind & Bengal. This further strengthened Jinnah's arguments.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

and far-reaching in their consequences".¹ Addressing the youth of Aligarh he opened :

"If you are half as as determined to make sacrifice if you are half as willing to serve first of all Musalmans and then the country as you would have me believe, the future of my community is assured". He ended the same Speech Meaningfully :

"The Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and the suppressed".

Jinnah, at this juncture, was definitely developing the theme of Separatism :

"The Muslims want no concessions. We Muslims of India have made up our mind to have our fullest rights but we shall have them as rights, not as gifts or concessions".²

In the same address he recognized that the political consciousness of the Muslim masses had been stirred and he urged them to develop their moral and cultural consciousness so that they could develop a national consciousness :

"That is the force I want the Muslims to acquire. When you have acquired that, believe me, I have no doubt in my mind, you will realize what you want".

In a message to the Muslim Youth of India he said :

"I am confident that young Muslim India, upon whom will fall the main burden of helping and guiding the future destiny of ninety millions of Musalmans, will not fail them, but would be unhesitatingly prepared for any service or sacrifice, when called upon to do so".³

Jinnah repeatedly asserted that "we have our rights and our claims in a future India";⁴ and that "we must and shall be the sole and final judges of what is best for us".⁵ He urged upon the "Mus-

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

2. Patna Address : 1938.

3. *Op. cit.* : p. 84.

4. Id Day Message : 13th November, 1939.

5. Statement to "*Daily Mail*", London.

'lim readiness for struggle',¹ and promised that "we will soon reach the goal of our freedom".²

Feeling the pulse of the Indian Musalmans Jinnah became a supporter of "International" Islam, by which phrase is meant his interest in the fortunes of Islam outside the sub-continent. The Muslims have always envinced great interest in the vicissitudes of their brethren outside India. Iqbal had suggested in his letter that the Palestine issue may be successfully tackled from the platform of the League.³

In his Presidential address at Patna he remarked :

"I know how deeply Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issue of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the *fight for their national freedom*.....no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices which the Arabs of Palestine are making".

Not only did he refer to the Palestine question, he brought in other inspiring example of Mustafa Ataturk. The occasion was his death. Jinnah paid him a tribute.

"His death has come as the greatest blow to the Muslim world. He was the foremost figure in the Muslim East. In Persia and Afghanistan, in Egypt and, of course, in Turkey, he demonstrated to the consternation of the rest of the world the *Muslim Nation were coming into there own*. In Kemal Ataturk the Islamic world has lost a great hero. With the exaple of this great man in front of them as an inspiration, will the Muslims of India still remain in the quagmire"⁴

1. Speech at Arabic College, Delhi.

2. Speech at Aligarh—6th March, 1940. This was just a fortnight before the Lahore Session.

3. The significance of Palestine issue to the Muslims may also be understood in the context of that country being covered both by Muslims and Christians during the Crusades. Now the Muslims were fighting against "International Jewry".

4. *Op. cit* : p. 66 The greatest achievement of Ataturk was the foundation of a National Turkish State.

Now a word about his indirect hints and suggestions through certain well-chosen examples. Nearer home he gave the example of the Congress activities in Indian States.

"Why all this agitation in the states? Why are all the forces being let loose in the name of Arya Smajists and the Hindu Mahasabha in Hyderabad State? I would ask the Congress what is it doing in Kashmir State? why are they silent about the affairs of Kashmir State? It is because Kashmir is a Hindu State? It is because the vast majority of the Indian subjects of Kashmir State are Muslims?"¹

In a statement on the question of Democracy in India he pointed that the parliamentary system was not workable in this country. "It is very doubtful" said he, "as to how it will work in South Africa where there are two powerful rival communities like the Boers and the British, and even here the differences between them are not so fundamental as between Hindus and Muslims. Even Ireland, after decades of union, did not submit to the British Parliament in spite of the close affinity with the English and the Scot. I may refer to Lord Morley's dictum that the fur coats of Canada would not do for the extremely tropical climate of India".²

In his I'd message he repeated Morley's name. "... . . I remember John Morley's book on 'Compromise' . . . I think you all ought to read that book not only once but over and over again. There is a good chapter in it on the limits of compromise, and the lesson it teaches regarding the pursuit of truth and the limitations of our actions in practice are worth pondering over".

In the earlier part of the eventful years under survey Jinnah used the word "nation", "minority" and "community" regarding the Muslims interchangeably. He was keen to define the word "minority" as the combination of separate and distinct religion, culture, race, language, art and music and established that a minority is a "separate entity in the States".³

1 Patna Address

2 He also quoted the example of Czechoslovakia and Poland—op cit p. 153

3 Speech on the Report of Joint Parliamentary Committee in the Legislative Assembly, 7th February, 1935

The Muslim claim to nationhood was interlinked with its having distinct civilization and culture. Addressing the Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly he threw them a challenge : "you will never be able to destroy that culture which we have inherited, the Islamic culture, and that spirit will live, *is going to live*, and has lived".¹

For establishing the point he fell back upon the Report of the Joint Select committee which said about India that "two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion ; over seventy-seven millions are followers of Islam ; and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the strict sense but also of law and culture. They may be said indeed to represent two distinct separate civilizations".²

Constructing on this he wrote emphatically : "They are in fact two different nations, and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of British Government in forcing on India the Western system of democracy....."³

Six months earlier he had enunciated the same proposition :

"I say to every Musalman that Islam expects you, one and all, to do your duty and stand by your people as one nation".⁴

The theme was developed in the Lahore Address :

"The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor interdine together, and, indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different

1. Speech on the Finance Bill—22nd March, 1939.

2. Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms : Sessions 1933-34. Vol. I; para. I. It also contains the words : "India is inhabited by many races.....often as distinct from one and other in origin, tradition and manner of life as are nations of Europe".

3. Article in the "*Time & Tide*"—19th January, 1940.

4. Speech at Osmania University—28th September, 1939.

episodes. Very often the hero of one is the foe of the other and, likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state".¹

A concrete shape to the Muslim political separatism could not be given unless the whole problem of the constitution of India was considered *de novo*. Jinnah appreciated this.

".... the Muslim League, after very careful consideration, has come to the conclusion that the entire problem of India's future constitution must be considered *de novo*; and that no declaration or commitment should be made by His Majesty's Government without the approval and consent of the Muslim League"²

The League Resolutions were accepted by the then Viceroy of India. "this demand" said Mr. Jinnah, "had been satisfactorily met by the Viceroy", who assured that the whole scheme of the Act of 1935 would be examined afresh. The Viceroy's reply to the latter half of the Resolution was "unsatisfactory" because he only made the general statement that His Majesty's Government were "fully alive to the importance of the Muslims"³

Thus, it may be comprehended that once Jinnah had been converted to Separatism, he consistently worked for it in a well-planned and calculated manner. If the Nehru Report was the third step in the development of the Separatist movement, the fourth was the period between 1936 and 1940, when Muslim India prepared itself for, and deliberately pronounced Separatism as their ultimate goal in the sub-continent.

1 Presidential Address at Lahore Session March, 1940

2 Statement on the question of Democracy in India The League Working Committee passed Resolutions to the effect on September 18 and October 22, 1939, as well as on 4th February, 1940

3 Speech at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, 23rd February, 1940

Negotiations between Dost Mohammad Khan, Amir of Kabul and the British Government leading up to the treaty of 1855

By

Mr. Z. H. Zaidi, Lahore.

After the first Afghan War it was the desire of the British "to interpose a great barrier of mountainous country between the expanding power of Russia in Central Asia and the British dominions in India. This could be well achieved by entering into an alliance of friendship with the ruler of Afghanistan whose independence and integrity the British were prepared to maintain.

The Amir of Kabul, Dost Mohammad Khan was also eager for such an alliance. The Persians threatened the Amir from one side and the Russians from the other. Dost Mohammad's remark, "On all sides I see danger and I am gone into the mouth of a crocodile"¹ shows how keen he was for a friendly alliance which would result in strengthening his position. Besides there was a rumour that the Governor-General was coming to the Frontier and a large army was to be assembled at Kohat. The Amir was alarmed and anxious to be friendly with the British.² Previously letters had been exchanged between the Amir's son, Sardar Azim Khan and Maj. M.B. Edwards, Commissioner of Peshawer for establishing good relationship between the two governments. Maj. Edwards advised Sardar Azim Khan that "It was not a private affair but an affair of two states and the rulers of the two states of India and Kabul who are the Governor General and the Amir, your father—not you and I—if therefore Amir Saheb wishes bygones to be bygones let him personally show friendship as he showed his enmity...let him address a letter to the Governor General and I shall forward it."³

1. 27th Jan. 1855, Nos. 11—12

2. Trans. of news letter from Syed Hisamuddin recd. at Peshawer, Oct. 9, '55.

3. Major Edwards, letter to Sardar Azim Khan. dated 22nd July 1854.

Sardar Azim Khan informed his father, the Amir, about the suggestions made by Maj Edwards. Dost Mohammad whose "heart's desire was to please the illustrious English and to promote whatever views they might communicate"¹ sent an envoy named Mirza Mohammad Hussain, with four letters "one from Mohammad Azim Khan and one from the Amir himself addressed to Maj Edwards, the other two letters were from the Amir to Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Lahore Division". Maj Edwards expressed his desire to Sir John Lawrence that a "treaty however simple in form should be concluded"² The Amir in his letter addressed to the Chief Commissioner requested that the letter for the Governor General may be sent to him. The Amir paid the following compliments to the Governor General.—

"Adorner of the most generous rule, the high and powerful, the shedder of splendour on the throne of dignity and honour, the giver of all high and noble laws, the adorner of exalted place, the binder of the volume of power and government, the strengthener of extended empire, the help of the states and support of an illustrious kingdom, Prototype of the days and Galen of the Age, the Governor General of British India"

In reply to the Amir's letter the Governor General informed the Amir that "England and France have joined hands against Russia in Europe in order to protect the Sultan of Constantinople from invasion the Russian army has already been driven out of sea by the United forces and the Russian army has been compelled to evacuate from the Turkish provinces" He considered it desirable to have a treaty of friendship but such "an alliance between the two states could not be based on the words of a friendly letter and should be recorded in valid treaties" The Amir was invited to depute a high Sardar to meet the Agent of the British government at Peshawer and conclude a treaty of friendship on conditions agreed upon by the two governments

¹ Trans of a letter sent by Sardar Azim Khan to Maj Edwards through Mirza Mohammad Hussain who arrived in Peshawer on 23rd Oct 1854

Khan Bahadur Faujdar Khan accompanied Mirza Mohammad Hussain as the envoy of British government to the Amir of Kabul. On 23rd December 1854, Faujdar Khan attended a darbar held at Saidar Ghulam Hydar's (Amir's son) house when he was asked by the Amir to enlighten him about the benefits which he (the Amir) would derive from the proposed treaty and whether the British government would give him any aid in case of necessity, "If I am not guaranteed aid by the English and I alienate myself from other powers, I seem to get a nominal friendship without any solid advantages. It is as if I should say "Friendship" and the English should reply "Friendship"¹ Faujdar Khan had not been authorised to give any definite assurances about the aid to the Amir and so he kept silent. It should be pointed out here that the Amir was himself inclined to go to Peshawer but was dissuaded by his brothers on the ground that if he were not accorded sufficient honour and reception he would be degraded in the eyes of the public. One of the Amir's sardars expressed the view that if the English could give money to the Afghans they could furnish three lakhs of people to fight for the English. The Amir himself suggested that if the English were prepared to employ the Afghans they would fight against the Russinas.²

Some of the Afghan nobles who took part in discussion regarding the proposed treaty advised the Amir that no definite treaty should be made but the matters should be put in such a manner that the English may be deluded and the Persians may not be annoyed (due to the treaty) and remain friendly.³ It was however decided that Sardar Ghulam Hyder Khan, Amir's son and heir apparent would represent the Amir to have negotiations with the British. Khyber was selected by the Afghans as the venue for these negotiations. Though this was not agreed upon by the British this choice was made to show that the Afghans did not come for friendship but that as the English were keen for the alliance so they came to the Afghan territory. It was indeed to keep up their false pride and vanity and to please the Afghans who would otherwise have said that a Muslim king went to submit to the

1. Letter from Maj. Edwards to Secy. to Chief Commissioner dt. 8th Jan. '55.

2. Letter from Maj. Edwards to Secy. to Chief Commissioner dt. 8th Jan. '55,

3. 3rd Feb. 1855. Nos. 23—25

British.¹ The typical tendency of the Afghau ruling family will be well illustrated by the following facts :—

"On the 23rd of Jan. (1855) at Kabul Sardar Mohammad Azim Khan sent for Faujdar Khan and said, "Out of friendship for the British I wish to give a message to the Commissioner, Peshawer from me that when the son of Sardar Kohun Dil Khan of Kandhar went to the court of Persia, he had jageers conferred on him to the amount of two lakhs of rupees. My brother Hyder Khan is now going to a court far greater than that of Persia and it will look ill if he is not treated with proportionate generosity and comes empty away..... My advice, however, is that whatever is to be given be given to my brother Hyder who is the leading man in this country and who will be degraded in public estimation if he gets nothing by going to Peshawer."²

Ghulam Hyder Khan who was to act as plenipotentiary in the negotiations and Faujdar Khan left Kabul on 8th Jan. 1855 on their way to Peshawer. They reached Jalalabad on the 17th. Faujdar Khan despatched letters from the Amir to the Chief Commissioner, the Commissioner of Peshawer, and the Governor General. About the Amir's letter addressed to the Governor General Maj. Edwards wrote to Sir Lawerence that the letter concluded "in the style of an inferior to superior by praying that the sun of His Lordship's Imperial rule may shine brighter and brighter for ever."³ The Amir had written to the Governor General that "At your Lordship's desire, I have appointed my son, the beloved the most upright, the pupil of the eye of dignity and Majesty, Sardar Ghulam Hyder Khan, the 'heir' apparent of this powerful Government and the master of the affairs of this country "who" will proceed to Peshawer and at the appointed place pitch his tents emblazoned with victory in order to make an effort to conclude a treaty of friendship and confirm it with binding engagements, such as should be acceptable to both and may be conducive to the welfare and satisfaction of both the governments."⁴ A British officer of high

1. 3rd Feb. 1855. Nos. 23—25.

2. 3rd Feb. Nos. 23—25.

3. 3rd Feb. Nos. 23—25.

4. Trans. of the letter from the Amir to Governor General (3rd Feb., Nos 22—25,

rank invested with full powers to conclude the treaty was to be appointed by the Governor General. Maj. Edwards, well known for discretion, judgment, and ability was directed to negotiate a treaty which besides promising perpetual peace and friendship between the two governments should also make it obligatory for each to respect the territories of the other. The draft of the proposed treaty with necessary instructions was despatched by the Govt. of India and runs as follows :—

Treaty between the British Govt. and His Highness Dost Mohammad Khan, Amir of Kabul, concluded on the part of the British Government by Major Herbert Edwards C.B. in virtue of full powers vested in him by the Most Noble James Andrew Marquis of Dalhousie, K.G.I.C.A., Governor General of India, and on the part of the Amir of Kabul Dost Mohammad Khan by.....

Article I

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and His Highness Dost Mohammad Khan, the Ameer of Kabul, his heirs and successors.

Article II

The Honourable East India Company engages to respect, and never to interfere with, the territories now in possession of His Highness the Ameer.

Article III

His Highness Dost Mohammad Khan engages on his own part, and on the part of his heirs and successors, to respect the territories belonging to the Honourable East India Company, to be the friend of its friends, and the enemy of its enemies.

Done at Peshawer this _____ day of _____ one thousand eight hundred and fifty five.

(Sd.) G.F. ADMONSTONE,
Secy. to Govt. of India.

The provisions of the proposed Treaty were further explained by the Secretary to the Govt. of India as follows:—

"The draft of the treaty fulfils the foregoing conditions, effects every object this Govt. of India has in view and commits it to nothing which a cautious policy would require it to avoid. By the first article a formal renewal of friendly relations with the Amir of Kabul is declared, and amity, is, at the same time, established with his heirs and successors. The second article relieves the Amir from all apprehensions or aggression or interference on our part, while it contains not a word which could involve the Government of India in an engagement to support Dost Mohammad Khan in any aggressive movements which, under whatever, pretext, he may desire to undertake against other chiefs or states and whatever we promise, or exist in the third article is of a purely defensive character

Major Edwards should be instructed to make the 1st article the basis of his negotiation and to offer the additional provisions to the acceptance of the Amir's envoy as being in conformity with what His Highness himself is believed to have contemplated. It is not the wish of his Lordship in Council that these later provisions (which are expressed in the 2nd and 3rd articles of the draft) should be pressed upon the envoy, or that they should appear to originate with the Government of India, but that they should be put forward as concession to the wishes of the Amir, and as a specific assurance that the apprehensions which the Afghan nation is believed to entertain of our desire to obtain again a footing in Kabul, are wholly groundless.

That the Afghans are impressed with this belief was represented during the course of his conference with Major Edwardes by Nazir Khair-ullah, who, at the same time, intimated that the Amir would regard with much favour the insertion in the treaty of an article by which the British Government should engage neither to have a contingent at Kabul, nor to place any representative there—Major Edwardes in bringing forward the second article of the treaty for discussion, should advert to these representations of Nazir Khairullah, and should point out that the article in question does substantially guarantee to the Amir what he is said to have desired, excepting a promise that the Government of India shall never have a representative at the

court of Kabul, and that it has been proposed for acceptance, with the express intention of meeting his wishes as they are believed to have been expressed by Nazir Khairullah. The envoy may be assured, at the same time that the Government of India has no intention of sending and no wish to send a representative to the Court of Kabul, but it should be pointed out to him that this Government could not in prudence bind itself never to depute a representative to the Amir, for if Russia or other powers should be represented by envoys at Kabul, the interests of British Government would plainly suffer injury if no envoy were present on its behalf.

If, however, the envoy should not be satisfied with this assurance but should press on the part of the Amir for specific stipulations regarding our having no cantonment at Kabul and no representative there Major Edwardes may be instructed to deliver to the envoy, in the event of his signing the treaty as proposed in the draft, a formal note, which shall explain that in engaging not to interfere with the territories of the Amir, the Government of India intends to repudiate all desire to have a cantonment in any part of His Highness, dominions, and that the Government, in like manner, intends, by that article, to repudiate all desire to have any representative at Kabul, unless representatives from other powers should be admitted there.

If Major Edwardes should find (which is hardly to be anticipated) that the envoy from Kabul will not agree to any treaty unless these two stipulations shall be embodied in it, he is authorised to introduce them, in the modified sense described in the preceding part of this paragraph.

In the course of the negotiations upon the 3rd article of the proposed treaty, it is possible that the envoy may object to assume, on the part of the Amir, the obligation to resist our enemies to the utmost unless some equivalent advantage should be conceded to His Highness by the provisions of the treaty. In this event the envoy should be reminded that, in obtaining from us a treaty of friendship at all, the Amir obtains a full equivalent for all that he is asked to give in return. Maj. Edwardes should point out to the envoy that, at the present time, the Amir has no security, except in our forbearance,

against the infliction by us of such just retribution as we might please to exact from him for the unprovoked hostilities which he directed against us some years ago—His Highness will do well to recollect that his army was moved against us, that he came at its head; and that it was the act of one of his family which delivered our officers, their wives and children, as prisoners into the hands of the Sikhs. If His Highness the Amir shall obtain, by virtue of the proposed treaty, complete immunity for such acts as these; if he shall obtain by it the relief and assurances which he will derive from possessing the plighted friendship of a great Government whose displeasure he incurred; whose power is irresistible, and whose frontier touches his own, the Amir may well be content to give in return that assurance of common resistance to a common enemy, which is all that the British Government now propose to him..... ..

If the envoy from Kabul should..... decline on the part of the Amir to agree to the engagement expressed in the 3rd article of the draft then Major Edwardes should be instructed to revert to the original basis of negotiation, the simple treaty of friendship, namely which is comprehended in the 1st article.

But it may be anticipated that the Amir's envoy will, in the first instance, manifest much dissatisfaction at the limited scope of the proposed treaty. He will probably contend for an alliance offensive and defensive, between the States, at all events he will doubtless represent the necessity for his obtaining from us some assurances against the aggression of Persia or Russia with which he will declare the Amir's country to be threatened

If the envoy should contend for a treaty offensive and defensive, Major Edwardes should at once intimate that the British Government will under no circumstances enter into such a compact with the Amir of Kabul. The sole effect of such an instrument would be to involve the Government of India in the disputes and hostilities of the various states which lie beyond its western frontier, and wholly to defeat the desire which it sincerely entertains to be at peace, with all of them, and to abstain from any interference in their interests and concerns.

If, again, the envoy should represent that, from whatever cause, he considers the territories of the Amir to be in danger from the Shah

of Persia, and should require that the treaty should convey to him some guarantee against Persian aggression, Maj. Edwardes should bear in mind the express injunctions which the Governor General in Council as received, that the Government of India must not make conditions or use language which would occasion just cause of umbrage to Persia, and he should refuse to give the guarantee that may be sought.

Maj. Edwardes shall point out that a treaty of friendship unites the Govt. of Persia and of England, that Her Majesty's Government is entirely satisfied with the line of conduct which Persia has pursued since England has been engaged in war with Russia and that she is convinced that the Shah of Persia has no hostile designs against the British Government and will take no part in any measures which the Emperor of Russia may conceive for the injury of the British Government in the East. The Government of India therefore, can enter into no engagement, which would imply hostility to the power of Persia, or suspicion of her intentions.....at the same time Maj. Edwardes should be authorised to give full assurance that the British Government sincerely desires the continued maintenance of the independence of Afghanistan, and would not view with indifference any attempt by a foreign power to subvert it; and the Amir may be informed that last year the British Government concluded an engagement with the Shah of Persia, which had for its object the maintenance of the territory of Herat independent of Persian rule; and at the same time took occasion to declare that it will not allow any systematic attempt on the part of Persia to effect a change in the state of possession in the countries lying between the Persian frontier and the British territories in India.”.....

Government would not object to slight alteration in the wordings of the proposed treaty but Maj. Edwardes must be careful to see that such alterations do not affect the sense and no new matter should be added without reference to the Governor General in Council.”

After Major Edwardes had been appointed to conclude the Treaty he was superceded by Sir John Lawrence in view of the fact that the Amir had specially expressed his desire that the Chief Commissioner should meet his son and so the political considerations rendered

it necessary to commit the duty of concluding the treaty to Sir John Lawrence who was invested with full powers by the Government of India for the said purpose and who was to follow the same instructions as issued to Major Edwardes.

The Commissioner of Peshawer with a troop of cavalry met the Afghan envoy and his party at the border of the cantonment on March 19, 1855. Sardar Ghulam Hyder Khan was accompanied by 37 chiefs, Khairullah Khan, envoy from the court of the ruler of Herat and other officers. The Sardar's party was treated with great courtesy and the supplies for their camp (situated 7 miles from the cantonment on the road to Khyber Pass) were furnished free of charge. Rupees seven thousand were sent to the Sardar as "Yeefut" The Chief Commissioner and the Commissioner of Peshawer returned the visit at the Sardar's camp on the 20th of Jan.¹ Discussions were held between the Chief Commissioner and the Sardar who was attended by Hafiz Jee (Privy Councilor of the Amir), Shah Nawaz Khan (nephew of the Sardar), Shah Murad Khan Barkazai (Governor of Jalalabad), Mirza Ahmad Khan (Mir Munshi). The Sardar impressed on the Chief Commissioner the fact that the Afghan nation was poor and impoverished and that the Persian and the Russians could be displeased with the Treaty and so it was necessary to grant substantial financial aid to his country. The Sardar also wanted to have an assurance from the Chief Commissioner as to whether the British Government would help Afghanistan if Persia or Russia attacked Herat (which was Kabul's ally). The Chief Commissioner told the Sardar that England and Persia were bound by a friendly treaty and Afghanistan should not be afraid of any attack by Persia, and that the interests of the two States (Afghanistan and England) were identical. "They were in one boat" the Chief Commissioner said, to which the Sardar replied that "being in one boat we should sink or swim together."² The British were not prepared to sink and so the Chief Commissioner kept on availing the Sardar on the question without binding the British to any obligations of assistance in case of war.

On March 24th, 1855 the Chief Commissioner and the Commissioner of Peshawer waited on the Sardar. The Sardar took out a note

1. 24th March 1855, Nos. 57—58.

2. 31st March 1855, Nos. 10—11.

and read it out to the Chief Commissioner and asked for the British point of view regarding the clauses of the note. The Chief Commissioner assented to the first condition that the British Government would never interfere with the territories belonging to the Afghans. With regard to the second relating to Herat the Chief Commissioner assured the Sardar that the "British Government desired the independence of Afghanistan and would not view with indifference any attempt by a foreign power to subvert it.....and that the British Government will not allow any systematic attempt on the part of Persia to affect a change in the state of possessions in the countries lying between the Persian frontier and the British territories in India."¹ and that in the Treaty concluded between England and Persia, the maintenance of Herat independent of Persian rule was assured. The Chief Commissioner, however, refused to insert anything regarding the interests of Herat in the treaty.

Regarding the restoration of Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan to his former fiefs, the Chief Commissioner declined to do anything about it since no Englishman in India desired to see Sultan Mohammad Khan in firendly guise.

The Sardar told the Chief Commissioner that the Amir was afraid of the Russians and that against all others including even the Persians his power was sufficient. But that if Persia aided by Russia should attack Herat, or if Bokhara helped by the some European power should cross the Oxus, then the complexion of the case would be altered. The Sardar hoped that the English would help the Afghans when asked about the nature of the assistance required, the Sardar replied "With the English money and army." The Chief Commissioner tried to convince the Sardar that since the Afghans were proud, fanatic and unruly people it was not wise "to being two such races into a close contact. The Sardar rejoined in that case that if not with troops British could help them with money since money was required to keep the Afghans together and ensure their services. The Sardar yielded when reminded that the subject of Herat had already been discussed.

Again on March 27th, a long interview was held between the two parties. The articles of the proposed treaty were read out. On

1. 31st March 1855—Nos. 41—42

this occasion too the Sardar said that no safety was provided for Herat though the Amir was to become the friend of the friends and the enemy of the enemies of the British. Haji Khairullah Khan, the representative of the ruler of Herat said that if Herat was excluded from the treaty his ruler would fall a victim to the designs of the Persians and the Russians. The Chief Commissioner assuring the envoy said that "not only his master's interests were not injured but on the contrary they had been cared for by the British Government. Still he could not be recognised as the representative of Herat."¹

Referring to the third article of the proposed treaty the Sardar remarked that the terms were "one sided" about this it was explained by the Chief Commissioner that the English were content with their provisions that they had no ambition to advance whch the Amir admitted that he had and that the English had no enemies whom they dreaded while the Amir was in continual collision with his foes.

At one time the Sardar was even threatened that since his proposals were inadmissible no treaty could be concluded. The Sardar, however showed willingness to comply with the wishes of the British Government and so the deliberations were continued.

The Sardar presented a new draft of the articles in which the only matter whch had been stuck out was the word "Successors". The Sardar and his friends even thought that the term "Heirs of the Amir" was too wise and was applicable to all the relations of the Amir (including Sultan Mohammad Khan) who were entitled to inheritance according to Muslim Law, but the term 'successors' threw the door open to the world. On the request of the Sardar the word "successors" was expunged.

Besides, some more additions were introduced in the Government draft the one designated Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, the Walee of Afghanistan and not of Kabul. The other divided Afghanistan into two sections namely, the territories under the English and the Territories of which the Amir was the ruler. When questioned about the ancient limits of Afghanistan, Hafiz Jee replied, "Peshawer, Kabul, Kandhar, Herat" According to the draft of the treaty which the

Sardar had, the Amir had resigned claims to the territories which were now under the English but his title as the Walee of the remainder involved that the English recognised him as the arbiter of Kandhar, Herat as well as of Kabul. This recognition was not provided for in the instructions issued by the Governor General. On further discussion the Sardar told that since Kabul was the name of a city it was embarrassing to call the Amir the Walee of Kabul who in fact was the ruler of all Afghanistan except the territories held by the English. On Sardar's insistence the Chief Commissioner consented to modify the draft without recognising Amir's claim to any territories which he did not hold. This was done and the following wording was adopted :—

"Amir Dost Mohammad Khan Walee of Kabul and those countries of Afghanistan now in his possession." ¹

The designation of "Walee" was introduced because the Sardar observed that Walee was the Afghan term for a supreme ruler whereas Amir might be one among many.

Sardar Ghulam Hyder also desired that his own name should be inserted in the treaty as one of the contracting parties. For the active part the Sardar played in concluding the negotiations the Chief Commissioner informed the Sardar that it was not expedient to include his name but that it could be signed by him as the representative of the Amir.

On March 30th, 1855 the Treaty was signed at a Public Darbar. Sardar Ghulam Hyder Khan carried with him one copy of the Treaty to Kabul, Another was sent to Calcutta to be ratified by the Governor General. The Governor General approved of the treaty but pointed out to the Chief Commissioner (as regards the alterations by which the Amir was to be called "Walee" of Kabul and of those countries in Afghanistan now in his possession) that the Governor General did not agree that the title 'Amir' of Kabul' was incorrectly used by the Government in the first instance. It was also pointed out that the Wazir of Persia spoke of him as the Amir of Kabul and that the Governor General apprehended that the title assigned to Dost Mohammad

1. 16th June 1855, Nos. 10—12.

Khan in the draft Treaty was right and proper but that he did not have any objection to the alteration made by the Chief Commissioner

The Governor General after ratification of the treaty sent the copy for transmission to the Amir. It was intended that the Governor General and the Amir should each sign the copies of the treaty received by them. The documents were then to be exchanged. The copy already signed by the Governor General would then have been ratified by the Amir and vice versa.

When the copy of the Treaty was sent to the Governor General the Amir feared that the Treaty would be altered by the Governor General. He addressed along letter to Major Edwardes showing his "extra-ordinary suspicion and watchfulness against deceit". He mentioned that since the task of negotiating a treaty had devolved on the two agents who had been invested with full powers, there was no need for further amendments to be made by the Governor General and that if the Governor General had made any changes, the Amir would also be obliged to enter his own in the changed Treaty.

In order to remove the misunderstanding of the Amir, Major Edwardes wrote to him that "Contracting parties affix their own seals and then the copies of the signed treaties are sent to the respective sovereigns who put their own seal and then these sealed and signed copies are futher exchanged———The treaty thus ratified is deposit ed in the treasury at Peshawer ———The Amir was advised not to his copy until he had received the copy from the British¹

The Amir was informed that not a word was struck out from the Treaty and only the signature of the Governor General and his Secretary had been added to it.

The ratified copy of the Treaty was sent to the Amir through Khan Bahadur Fateh Khan who was formerly in the Amir's service but joined the British Government later on.

Treaty between the British Government and His Highness Ameer Dost Mohammad Khan Walee of Kabul and of those countries of Afghanistan now in his possession concluded on the part of the

British Government by John Lawrence Esq., Chief Commissioner of Punjab in virtue of full powers vested in him by the Most Noble James Andrew Marquis of Dalhousie K.G.I.C.A. Governor General of India and on the part of the Amir of Kabul Dost Mohammad Khan by Sardar Ghulam Hyder Khan in virtue of full authority granted to him by His Highness.

Article I

Between the Honourable East India Company and His Highness Amir Dost Mohammad Khan Walee of Kabul and those countries of Afghanistan now in his possession and the heirs of the said Amir, there shall be perpetual peace and friendship.

Article II

The Honourable East India Company engages to respect those territories of Afghanistan now in His Highness' possession and never to interfere therein.

Article III

His Highness Amir Dost Mohammad Khan Walee of Kabul and of those countries of Afghanistan now in his possession engages on his own part and on the part of his heirs to respect the territories of the Honourable East India Company and never to interfere therein and to be the friend of the friends and enemy of the enemies of the Honourable East India Company.

Done at Peshawer, this thirteenth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty five corresponding to the eleventh day of Rajab one thousand two hundred and seventy one.

(Sd.) JOHN LAWRENCE,
Chief Commissioner, Punjab.

(Sd.) SARDAR GHULAM HYDER KHAN

and in person as the
and on his own account.

Amir Dost Mohammad Khan



HAKIM AJMAL KHAN'S ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

By

A. R. Khan

The Post-1857 period was an era of frustration for the Muslims of India. The British were angry and distrusted the Muslims while the latter nurtured hatred for them and stood aloof from the active life. It was in this atmosphere of despair that Syed Ahmed Khan took upon himself the responsibility of organizing the Muslims. They had seen the futility of an armed revolt against the British Government; therefore they adopted a policy of cooperation in order to re-settle their broken life.

To materialise their schemes the Muslims founded bodies like the Mohammadan Educational Conference and the Indian Defence Association, but it was establishment of the all India Muslim League at Dacca in 1906 which brought the young Muslim politicians to the forefront. Among the new personalities that became prominent was Hakim Ajmal Khan. Ajmal Khan had been interested in the destiny of India even before 1906 as is evident from his writings in *Akmal-ul-Akhbar*. We could hear from his lips words like "Freedom", "Rights" etc. But if it were to draw a line from where he started his political leadership, can be done only by 1906.

Ajmal Khan's fame as a physician has spread throughout India but most of the writers who have written on post-1857 period have not done justice to his political career and activities. Recently some work has been done on this subject but the writers have mostly made Ajmal Khan follow a certain creed, and his personality has not been presented in its real stature. In any case it can not be called an objective study.

Dr. Pattabhisita Rammayya who has made every attempt to minimize the services of Muslims in the national cause writes in the *History of the Indian National Congress*, as 'He (Ajmal Khan) had all the suavity, polish and courtesies of a padshah, his culture was of a high order and his character was its twin sister which made up the excel-

lence of his equipment in the moral no less than the intellectual and social spheres of life'.

Besides this paragraph Sitarammiya has made very casual remarks about Ajmal Khan and his work, and has therefore done great injustice to his towering personality. Perhaps the reason of this is that most of the writers failed to realise that Ajmal Khan was a man of very high calibre.

Ajmal Khan stands as a link between the leaders of the old moderate school and the extremist new young group. It is surprising he enjoyed the confidence of both for a fairly long time.

Ajmal Khan influenced the policy of the Muslim League for several years. He guided the League according to the conditions of the subcontinent. When need arose for close co-operation between the Hindus and Muslims of India, he made the Muslim League stand shoulder to shoulder with the Indian National Congress. Qaid-i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Ajmal Khan worked hand in hand for this object. After the Lucknow Pact of 1916 the Hindu-Muslim co-operation reached such a climax that the League and Congress held many of their sessions at the same place. In these sessions often common resolutions were adopted and it seemed at one stage that the struggle for freedom would be shortened considerably through the concerted efforts of the Hindus and Muslims. The Hindu-Muslim co-operation sometimes received set backs through communal riots which often started on timsy issues such as slaughter of cows, playing of music before mosques etc. The British rulers made capital out of it and fanned the fire of communalism. The activities of the Hindu Mahasabha furthered this cause. Many conferences and discussions were held to bring about better understanding but they did not go further than the pronouncement of high sounding principles only.

Ajmal Khan played a prominent part in bringing the two nations nearer. In the later twenties the Mahasabha influence spread among the Hindus to such an extent that they did not even hesitate in doubting the integrity of Ajmal Khan. All his services were forgotten and

his sincerity was mocked at. Persons like Swami Shraddha Nand accused him for communalism.

Ajmal Khan's idea of Hindu-Muslim unity and co-operation was not an isolated fact. It represented the feelings of the Muslim intelligentsia. His attempts for such a unity can be called the last attempts of the Indian Muslims to come to terms with the Hindus. The failure of Ajmal Khan in his mission was not the failure of one man but the failure of the whole Muslim nation in India to solving the communal problem by joining hands with the Hindus. After that the two nations separated and the structure of Hindu-Muslim unity collapsed.

Who can easily guess to-day, what would have been the reaction of Ajmal Khan in the later thirties of this century? Would he not become an ardent supporter of Pakistan, in order to avert a civil war in the country?

Let us now consider Ajmal Khan's political activities stage by stage. His political career can broadly be divided into three parts according to his political role and reactions.

In the first stage, Ajmal Khan kept himself busy in his professional work and did some work for Aligarh and the Muslim League. After the birth of the League at Dacca Ajmal Khan became more active in the political field. In December, 1907, he went to attend the Muslim League session at Karachi. Is it not interesting that the League born in Dacca received its final shape at Karachi. Both these places are now in Pakistan.

In the Karachi session League agreed upon (1) loyalty to Government (2) Protection of the rights of the Muslims (3) Developing good relations among the different sections of Indian population. Adamji Pirbhoy, the president of the session went to the extent of saying "We have gone ahead so far that if we step back we will be nowhere and we will be deemed unfit in getting some share in the government." Who knew that these words would prove to be the beginning of a movement which would culminate in achievement of Pakistan.

Just after the Karachi session Ajmal Khan was honoured with the title of *Haziq-ul-Mulk* by the Government. Later he returned this title in connection with non-co-operation movement.

In September 1908 Ajmal Khau attended the annual session of the Muslim League at Amritsar. This session was attended by many influential and important persons Mian Mohammad Shafi, Syed Ali Imam, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Nawab Ali Choudhry and Mazhar ul-Haq. This meeting showed the increasing influence of the League. Partition of Bengal was upheld by this session as it was thought to be beneficial for the Muslims of East Bengal.

In 1909, Ajmal Khan left the regular service of Rampur and began to take more active part in the political activities of the country. He invited Nawab Waqar-ul Mulk to hold the Muslim League session at Delhi. He was elected the President of the Reception Committee. In his presidential address he remarked:

'It is incorrect to think that Muslims want to remain aloof from the political life due to this reason that Sir Syed did not co-operate with the Congress. As the number of educated Muslims has increased they cannot remain outside the pale of the political life.' In this speech Ajmal Khan supported the reform scheme, particularly the separate electorates. He wanted to establish good relations with the other communities of India.¹

In the same year, while delivering his Presidential address in the session of the Nadwatul Ulama he exhorted the '*Ulama* to wake up and take part in the struggle for freedom.

The Muslim League session was held at Nagpur in 1910 under the presidentship of Syed Nabiullah. The President tried to shake the Muslims out of their slumbering condition² and gave examples of other progressive Asian countries.

During this period, the first step, which Ajmal Khan took against the Government was quasi political. It was in support of Unani practitioners against the Registration Act passed by the Government. He also set up a Unani Tib Organization.

1 'Although we enjoy the confidence of the rulers yet the establishment of good relations with our sister nations is also necessary.'

2 'A brilliant future is unveiled before us. In future, if we remained true to our country and ourselves we will be the pioneers of our country in the struggle for freedom.'

In the month of May, Ajmal Khan decided to tour Europe for a change and also to study the conditions prevailing there. During his stay in London, he came to know Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, then a house surgeon at Charing Cross Hospital. This acquaintance later on developed into a friendship which lasted till his death. On his return from Europe, Ajmal Khan busied himself in the affairs of the Muslim League and the Tibbia Conference.

At this time, the extremist and anarchist group of Bengal started violence and created confusion in the land.

In order to appease the feelings of the loyal group the visit of His Britannic Majesty to India was arranged in 1911. The capital of India was transferred to Delhi. Ajmal Khan hailed this change. Even at this early state of his career Ajmal Khan retained his individual character, freedom of thought and self-respect.

During this time, there occurred many political events in the Islamic world which made the Muslims restless. Italy attacked Tripoli in 1911 to take her share in the assets of "the sick man" of Europe. The big powers convived at it. The Turks and the Arabs, however, thwarted the plans of the European powers. Then the Balkan states encouraged to make a common cause against the Turks. Russia began to extend her influence in Northern Iran by force. All these developments annoyed the Indian Muslims and they became uneasy.

Maulana Mohamed Ali was voicing the feelings of the nation through his papers, the *Comrade* and *Hamard*. When Maulana Mohamed Ali came to Delhi to work for the national cause Ajmal Khan received this pioneer of freedom with open arms. He helped Mohamed Ali in organizing a medical mission to the help of the Turks. The Balkan War made Ajmal Khan an important figure in politics.

In 1913, the Muslim League's session was held at Lucknow. Muslim leaders seriously considered the prevailing conditions and they deliberated over the need of making common cause with the Congress. This session was attended by several noteworthy Hindu leaders.¹ Mrs. Naidu even addressed this gathering. Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Syed

1. Pandit Bishan Narain Dar—President of Congress and Mrs. Naidu for instance.

Wazir Hasan and Mian Mohd. Shafi worked for bringing about unity among the Hindus and Muslims.

About this time occurred the tragedy of the Kanpur mosque. The municipal authorities demolished a part of the mosque and the Government upheld that action. The Muslims started agitation in which Ajmal Khan's role was not insignificant and is praised by Dr. Ansari.

The annual Session of the Muslim League was held at Agra on 30th December. Sir Ibrahim Rahmatulla presided. In his address he made it clear that Government did not care for the feelings of the people when maintaining its 'grandeur and force'. He also remarked 'Members of the Civil Service should remember that they are servants of India and they should be loyal to her interests.' At another place, he remarked 'That day will be memorable for Britain when it will raise the 30 crores people of India to the full stature of freedom.' So this address showed that the whole tone of the Muslims had changed by this time. Now they did not want to remain only the loyal subjects of the British Government. This address served as a prelude to the joint efforts of the League and the Congress in the struggle for freedom during the twenties of this century.

The World War I started in 1914, and the Muslim leaders including Ajmal Khan pledged their loyalty for a good cause by helping the British against the Germans. The entry of Turkey in the War on the side of the Central Powers created an awkward position for the Muslims, because the Turkish Sultan was also the *Khalifah*. Their sympathy with the Turks was natural. The Government could not appreciate this and stated a policy of repression. It cancelled the sureties of *Al-Hilal*, *Hamdard* and *Comrade* etc. The Defence of India Act was enforced. Zafar Ali Khan, Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali and many other Muslim leaders were interned. Ajmal Khan was suspected of carrying on seditious activities against the Government in collaboration with Afghanistan but no proof could be found. However, now he had to change his attitude towards the Government.

In 1915 the League Session was held at Bombay. The President of the session, Mazhar-ul-Haq, said 'Have confidence in God and

yourself. March forward with undaunted courage and will power towards your future. Don't stop, don't stay.'

Efforts were made to create confusion in this session but the League stood firm and appointed a committee including Hakim Ajmal Khan to negotiate with the Congress for chalking out the common line of action.

The British meanwhile succeeded in instigating the Arabs and putting forward Sharif Husain of Mecca as their leader against the Turks. The Muslims feared that European influence would now enter holy places.

On 6th July a mammoth meeting was held in Masjid Fatehpuri. Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and other leaders participated. It was also an occasion when the religious leaders came out to work with their brethren for the cause of Khilafat.

In Madras Mrs. Anne Besant started the Home Rule League. Tilak joined it in 1916, Gandhi also started his political career in India.

In the same year the League and the Congress session were held at Lucknow. Mr. Jinnah was the President of the League. The best political workers of the subcontinent were present there. The great achievement of the Muslim League was that it prepared the future programme of reforms jointly with the Hindus.

Dr. Ansari says that Hakim Ajmal Khan believed that in Bengal and the Punjab, the Muslims should retain their majority, though it may be very meagre; in provinces where they were in minority they should get seats according to their numerical strength. He believed that minority would remain a minority, no matter whether it was small or large. The Lucknow Pact had reversed this; it created non-Muslim majority in Bengal and the Punjab and gave weightage to the Muslims in provinces where they were in minority. As this Pact was accepted by the majority of the Hindus and Muslims Ajmal Khan did not oppose it, he bowed before the common will soon after this the Secretary of State for India, Montagu, came personally to India to see the situation for himself. About this time Ajmal Khan also tried to establish an Islamic College in Delhi. He collected some fund for it, but the other important (political) problems drew his

attention and he had to leave it. In November, the Muslim leaders gathered at Sharif Manzil (Residence of Ajmal Khan) in Delhi and they set up a body, Anjuman Nazar Bandan-i-Islam. This effort was directly against the British Government.

The report of Rowlatt Committee further infuriated the people.

In December Ajmal Khan was present on the platforms of League and the Congress at Calcutta. He had now reached a stage of popularity where no political gathering could be conceived of without him. It was on this occasion that Ajmal Khan and Gandhi came near to each other. After this meeting Ajmal Khan expressed his impression of Gandhi in the following words, 'He is a sincere and able man. If he remains alive then he will reach a high position not only in the Congress but India too'.

About C R Das who was in the twenties of this century a prominent leader of India, Ajmal Khan said, 'He is a contented man, riches have not spoiled him. He has high aims and has no communal prejudices.'

At this stage there occurred a great communal riot at Arrah, which thoroughly annoyed the Muslims, but it was through Ajmal Khan's efforts that the Hindu Muslim unity did not collapse. It was his life's mission and he devoted his best efforts to it. As Hakim Ajmal Khan had now associated himself with the two major political parties, the Government withdrew its patronage from him.

When the World War I was passing through its critical stages, the English people wanted more co-operation from Indians. In response to their appeals and promises to consider her demands for freedom with sympathy India gave near about 15 lakhs of soldiers and crores of rupees. But when the British got the support of U.S.A., they changed their attitude. Ajmal Khan said, 'We have been loyal to the British Government in their critical moments but now they are hurting our feelings. How can we keep our loyalty and to what extent?'

In September 1918, the Muslim League held a special session under the presidentship of Raja Mahmudabad at Bombay and put forward its demands which were already agreed upon by the Indian National Congress. But at this stage the question of the fate of

Turkey and other Muslim countries also became prominent. The 'Ulama of Bengal protested against the high-handed policy of the British Government in a meeting. This meeting was dispersed by the bullets of the police and army. From here started the venue of the struggle for freedom changed.

The League held its Session in Delhi. The 'Ulama attended it and whole-heartedly supported Muslim demands in regard to.—

- (1) Political rights,
- (2) The Khilafat question, and
- (3) Protection of holy places.

Hakim Ajmal Khan asked the Muslims to forget the atrocities of the Hindus committed at Arrah, Shahabad and Katarpur and join them in their efforts for the national cause.

The Presidential addresses of Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari delivered at the Congress and League Sessions respectively solved a tedious question whether a Muslim was a Muslim first or Hindustani first. The Hindu leaders were convinced of Muslim help and co-operation in the struggle for freedom. This united front organized by Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari wrecked the British scheme of 'Divide and Rule'. Thus the year 1918 was very important in the life of Ajmal Khan and also in the history of Hind-Pakistan.

In February 1919 Rowlatt Bill was put before the Council and in spite of the protests of the people it was passed. This caused great uneasiness in the subcontinent and hartals were organized in March and April.

In Delhi Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari took an active part in the hartal. Ajmal Khan had great influence over the people and was often referred as the unerowned King of Delhi. The police fell on the people with all its might but failed. Dr. Ansari says about this period, 'The whole city was burning with the fire of vengeance. If Ajmal Khan had not made use of his personality then the Government would have started its campaign of killing and the scenes of 1857 would have been repeated.'

At the same time the Punjab witnessed the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The British expected some trouble from Afghanistan and they created doubts in the minds of the Hindus that Muslims wanted to establish their rule with the help of the Afghans, this doubt was cleared at least for the time being by Ajmal Khan's statement who assured them that Muslims had no such intentions.

When these events were agitating the minds of the people the Muslims had an extra problem before them the Khilafat and protection of the holy places of Islam. The Khilafat question was linked up with other demands of the Indians, this was done at an All India Conference of which Ajmal Khan was the convener. At Lucknow a general prayer day was observed.

On Nov. 24 the Khilafat Conference was inaugurated at Delhi. Ajmal Khan was one of its sponsors. Gandhi attended it and assured the Muslims of his support. The Conference passed a resolution, "If the treaty with Turkey and the question of Khilafat is not decided according to the wishes of the Muslims then they will boycott British goods and will not co-operate with the Government." The Government had appointed a committee to report upon the Punjab atrocities, but the people had no confidence in it.

In the Amritsar sessions of the League Ajmal Khan made a historic statement about Hindu-Muslim unity. In order to satisfy his Hindu brothers he appealed to the Muslims to stop the sacrifice of cows on 'Id day and slaughter goats and sheep instead, for sacrificial purpose. The League adopted this resolution officially. Ajmal Khan advised the people to stop it in the holy cities of the Hindus first and then gradually in other cities also. Gandhi liked this move very much and he wrote an article in 'Young India'. Ajmal Khan had now reached the apex of his political career.

On 19th January 1920 Dr. Ansari led a deputation and waited on the Viceroy. It tried to impress upon his mind the fact that the continued existence of the Khilafat as a temporal, no less than spiritual, institution was the very essence of their faith. Chelmsford emphasised the fact that the question did not lie in the hands of the British Government. Britain alone could not do much. And finally on 17th March

Lloyd George's reply quashed the hopes of the Muslims. The 19th March was therefore observed as a day of national mourning. Finally the leaders decided to start non-co-operation. Hakim Ajmal Khan and Gandhi returned the title of Haziq-ul-Mulk and the Kaisar Hind medal respectively. Others followed suit. The people then gave Ajmal Khan the title of Masih-ul-Mulk which became more popular than Haziq-ul-Mulk.

Another important event of the time was the Hijrat. The Muslim started migrating to Afghanistan in large numbers. but soon the entry of the refugees was stopped by the Afghan Government. Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi who had worked with Ajmal Khan left for Kabul and took refuge there. The Government suspected that Ajmal Khan was in contact with him.

On 28th May, the Khilafat Committee met in Bombay and gave one month's notice to the Viceroy to fulfil his promises about Turks otherwise non-co-operation was to be launched. The 31st August was observed as Khilafat Day and hartals were organised throughout the country.

The Government imposed a collective fine on the citizens of Delhi but Hakim Ajmal Khan exhorted them not to pay it, he remarked 'The people of Delhi dislike this fine because they think it against the principle of justice therefore they do not want to pay this.' This protest was so successful that no body paid this fine in Delhi.

In September the Congress, the League, the Khilafat Committee and Jamiat-ul-Ulama held their sessions in Calcutta and formed a united front. The 'Ulama passed a resolution regarding the "Nizam Shari'ah". Ajmal Khan opposed it because it gave the 'Ulama very wide powers, which he thought might create difficulties for the workers. Ajmal Khan, however, was very pleased with this concerted effort of the Hindus and Muslims. He remarked "Anglo Indians will be disappointed in not finding the differences, among the patriots which they had expected. But the rest of India will be pleased to see that the leaders at least have girdled their lion for the freedom of the individual and self-Government".

In these meetings, the majority of the Hindu leaders opposed the non-cooperation movement. Among them were some of the most

prominent Hindus, as for instance, Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, Dr. Moonje, Mrs Annie Besant. Mr Gandhi however could have this resolution passed in the Congress session with the help of muslim leaders like Ajmal Khan, Ali Brothers and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The Muslims should be proud of this fact that this great movement which forms the most brilliant chapter of the history of our struggle for freedom was sponsored by them

The Government encouraged and succeeded in exciting communal feelings, there was trouble in Agra. It was Ajmal Khan who brought the two parties near to each other. Gandhi wrote in 'Young Leadear' that Hakim Ajmal Khan was a true Muslim who enjoyed the confidence of both the nations. He went there with his colleagues and settled the dispute, but he could not reach every place and the people would have to be cooperative and peaceful

In the beginning Ajmal Khan was not in favour of educational non-cooperation because he considered it unwholesome for students, but Gandhi persuaded him to agree with his views. Therefore the managing bodies of the different Universities, like Aligarh and Banaras, were asked to boycott the grant-in-aid which they received from the Government

In Aligarh and Banaras, these suggestions were not appreciated by the trustees. Then an appeal was made to the students and nearly about 600 from Aligarh and 400 from Banaras left their universities.

To provide educational facilities for non-co-operating students of Aligarh a national university, known as the Jama Millia was inaugurated on November 5, 1920. Ajmal Khan was elected as Amir Jamia and in this office he continued till his last days. Mohammed Ali became its principal. The national University was established in a few houses and bungalows of Aligarh. In Benares Kashi Vidyapeeth was established.

In November a grand session of the Jamiat-ul-'Ulama was held. It was presided over by Ajmal Khan. He delivered an excellent Presidential address which explained all the aspects of non-cooperation.

In 1921 Ajmal Khan asked Gandhi to inaugurate the Tibbia College. What a difference! its foundation stone was laid by Lord

Hardinge and now it was inaugurated by Gandhi. This shows the breadth of Ajmal Khan's vision and the great confidence exhibited by the Muslims in Hindu leadership. Mr. Gandhi in his presidential address remarked 'I consider Hakim Ajmal Khan a great link in the Hindu-Muslim unity without which we cannot make any progress and I think this College will be a prelude to it.'

Meanwhile the Ulama had issued a *fatwa* condemning the Government which was signed by all the important Muslim leaders. The Government replied by arresting a number of Hindu and Muslim leaders. Maulana Mohammed Ali Shaukat Ali and some other leaders were arrested for their speeches in the Khilafat conference held in Karachi. Their trial is a famous event of the freedom struggle and is known as the Karachi trial.

Another significant event was the decision of the workers to boycott the visit of Prince of Wales when he arrived in Bombay a complete hartal was observed. Firing and clashes took place. In other cities like Allahabad, Lucknow, Calcutta and Lahore, anti-Government demonstrations were organized. The Government tried its best to come to terms with the leaders but failed to get their support. On its failure it started repression and arrested most of them.

The next step taken by the leaders of the Nationalist movement was to boycott the use of foreign cloth. They laid emphasis on the use of khaddar. Ajmal Khan took prominent part in this.

In early November the Mahasabha held its session in Delhi and as a token of recognition of the services of Ajmal Khan elected him as the President of the Reception Committee, a unique honour given to any Muslim. It may be noted that in 1920-21 the policy of the Mahasabha was not based on Hindu communalism as it was later on.

In his address Hakim Ajmal Khan emphasized the need of unity. He also stressed the point that the Hindus should not object to the slaughter of cows; more over it is held on a great scale by the orders and for the requirements of the Government. However he asked Muslims to desist from cow slaughter in general in a voluntary fashion:

In 1921 most of the leaders except Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Gandhi were in Jail. So Ajmal Khan appealed to the people

to control themselves and to continue the fight for freedom peacefully. Ajmal Khan did not separate the cause of Khilafat from Swaraj. He visualized them as complementary.

In December the convocation of the Jama Millia was held in which he told the graduates that they would have to work hard for their homeland and as such people had great expectations from them. After the distribution of degrees he prepared to go to Ahmedabad where he presided over the Congress Session in place of C. R. Das who was in jail. There he asked the people to court arrest. Under his presidentship the Congress passed the individual non-cooperation resolution and decided to launch an exemplary non-cooperation campaign in Bardoli in the form of non-payment of taxes. The Congress gave full powers of action to Mr. Gandhi.

Hasrat Mohani put forward his resolution for complete independence before the Congress and the League. But this move was opposed by Gandhi and the people still stuck to Swaraj under British Government. It is significant however that a Muslim took the lead in putting forward the demand of complete independence, just as was the case with the non-cooperation movement.

In the Khilafat Conference Ajmal Khan prepared the Muslim for the fight against the British imperialism.

In January 1922, Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and Swami Shardhanand collected near about 25 thousand volunteers for non-violent non-cooperation.

In February 1922, Mr. Gandhi was preparing for civil Disturbance in Bardoli, when he learnt that a riot occurred at Choura-Chori in Gorakhpur district; the police and the national workers had come to clash. Mr. Gandhi was so upset by this that he proposed to stop the civil disobedience movement at once. It was a shock to many and when Ajmal Khan was asked about it he wrote back to Mr. Gandhi "You are there on the spot and you are the best judge, but in my opinion the stopping of civil disobedience movement will retard the progress of India towards the goal of freedom." Others also protested against it and later on Mr. Gandhi allowed individual civil disobedience through a resolution of the Congress but the harm

was done and it could not be retrieved and the whole plan failed in 1922.

Here the courage and political acumen of Ajmal Khan can be compared with those of Gandhi. Had Ajmal Khan's advice been accepted India might have been free much earlier.

Ajmal Khan had this grievance against Gandhi that he took this great decision without consulting him although he was President of the Congress. This step of Gandhi sent a wave of disappointment throughout India. After this started the new epoch, the last 5 years of Ajmal Khan's life were years of disappointment.

Later on Gandhi was arrested and sentenced for 6 years and he handed over the supreme command of the people of India to Ajmal Khan. It was a great honour but it came a bit too late.

A committee was appointed from top leaders of the Congress to hold investigations about the feelings of people. The Committee in her decision after proper tour was divided and one group was called No-changer and the other Swarajist.

Ajmal Khan, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Patel supported the idea of taking part in the elections of the Councils and obstructing the work of the Government, while the other party was in favour of boycott of the Council.

Besides, there were divisions in the Congress itself. The Mahasabha adopted a militant character and it even doubted the integrity of Ajmal Khan, the greatest pioneer of Hindu Muslim Unity. In one of its handbills it was remarked that "Ajmal Khan protects and supports the party which converts Hindu children to Islam".

While Ajmal Khan was sympathizing with the Akali movement in the Punjab against the Government who could say he was a communalist. If he could be doubted, who else could be relied ?

At this time came the communal riots in Multan. Ajmal Khan and Pandit Malavia toured the area to bring peace to both of them. But when Pandit Malavia returned to Lahore he made a speech in which he exaggerated the happenings and showed the helplessness of the Hindus and therefore started the Sangathan movement by which the Hindus were asked to prepare themselves physically.

Another committee was appointed to visit Multan ; it found the Hindus too much excited Ajmal Khan tried to put down the differences and paid some money to the Hindus from the Khilafat Relief Fund. Ajmal Khan was deeply affected by this state of affairs. Later in the Punjab Provincial Conference, he said, " Every body from you demands Swaraj although you are fighting amongst yourself."

He also asked the press of the Punjab to play its proper part in establishing congenial atmosphere and establishment of peace.

At this stage the Turks under Mustafa Kemal gained a victory over the Greeks. This victory was celebrated in Delhi by the leaders and the people of the subcontinent.

Ajmal Khan however continued his efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity, he adhered to the Swaraj party.

At this time Swami Shradhanand came out of the jail although his period of internment had not been completed. He came to Delhi and started the *Shuddhi* movement by forming a party called Bharat Shudhi Sabha, which soon became active in Agra, Muttra, Aligarh and the neighbouring districts. He gave queer statements about the attitude of Muslim leaders, particularly Ajmal Khan.

To counteract the *Shuddhi* the Muslims founded *Tabligh* party and started the counter-attacks.

In 1923, there occurred many communal riots throughout the country, in March, Ajmal Khan denounced the rioters and criticised the criminal mentality of those Hindus and Muslims who took part in the riots. The Hindu papers criticised Ajmal Khan severely for this and attributed many false things to him.

In his Id message to the nation he said, "Had I not been sick I would have devoted every moment of my life to removing misunderstanding between the Muslims and the Hindus because on the cooperation of these two peoples depends our bright future and the freedom of India. But the fire of communalism continued and could not be extinguished. The political programmes were set aside and the two peoples separated from each other."

The atmosphere became so polluted with communalism that the Hindus even did not participate in the celebrations of freedom for Turkey.

In those days, Ajmal Khan had eye trouble but even then he continued to serve the country. He could not attend the Coconada session of the Congress. He simply sent a message to the session. Nothing important could be decided in that Session.

The year 1924 proved to be worse than 1923, as far as tension of feelings between the Hindus and Muslims were concerned. The Khilafat movement collapsed due to the abolition of Khilafat in Turkey by the Turkish National Assembly. Ajmal Khan was one of the leaders who did not censure Turks for this act. The proposal of a deputation to Turkey was dropped because of the cold behaviour of Turks.

On this the differences between the Muslim and Hindus were widened. A Maha-sabhai wrote *Rangila Rasul*, which contained important remarks about the Holy Prophet. The Hindu papers called the sayings and writings of Ajmal Khan shallow with no reality. This made Mr. Gandhi and Ajmal Khan both hopeless about Hindu-Muslim unity.

When the riots became very common Mr. Gandhi observed 21 days' fast for stopping them. About this time some of the leaders of the Muslims and Hindus assembled in Delhi to discuss the communal situation.

Ajmal Khan spoke with his full vehemence on the subject, which, he said, was the sole aim of his life. He criticized both the nations for their undesirable activities.

Discussions were held, promises were made, *panchayats* were formed but nothing came out of it.

Even Mr. Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali could not see eye to eye when they both toured Kohat. Both differed in their reports. Mr. Gandhi was asked not to publish his report but he published it and therefore Shaukat Ali also had to do the same. This separated the Ali-Brothers from Gandhi.

More differences arose between the Muslims on the dethronement of Sharif Husain from the guardianship of holy places and the rise to power of Ibn Saud. Ajmal Khan and Gandhi both retired from politics for sometime.

In 1925 Ajmal Khan again tried for Hindu Muslim unity but met with no success; therefore he diverted his attention to the Tibbia College and Jamia Millia. His health was deteriorating, so he decided to go to Europe to give rest to his body as well as his injured soul.

At the time of his departure he wrote a touching letter to Mr. Gandhi in which he said that if some one would ask him about the condition of India, he would have to say that the two great nations of India were fighting amongst themselves.

During his stay in Europe he met old friends, studied the institutions there; in Muslim countries he discussed the possibilities of *Motamar Islami*. He also advised the Indians abroad to live in unity and set an example for their countrymen.

When he returned to India he found the conditions to be worse; however, he encouraged his countrymen by giving a message on the 9th October, 1925. The sum total of my observations is that from whatever "I have seen in this tour is that Asia will surely become free."

But he was not satisfied with the conditions prevailing in the Muslim countries.

He continued emphasizing his point; he wrote in one of his letters "We desire to have complete independence of India and we have set it as our motto. Therefore if we get anything less than that from the Government of India, we will not accept it as our goal, but we will suppose it as the first stage of our aim." Actually this reflected his ideas about the scheme of reform in the country.

Ajmal Khan originally was not in favour of separate rights or reservation of seats in the legislatures for Muslims but seeing the changing conditions he did not press his point of view. Generally speaking he preferred a middle way.

Ajmal Khan although he liked the change in Turkey, could not compromise with the idea of complete abolition of the Khilafat because he thought it a semblance of the unity of the Muslims of the world.

Ajmal Khan also felt sore about the high handed policy of the French rulers in Syria and other middle Eastern countries, and he has written long letter about it. All these feelings showed his keenness in the freedom and progress of India and Asia Muslim countries.

After 1925, Ajmal Khan had almost retired from active politics due to his ill health but even then he used to inspire others and indirectly took part in consultations.

In a meeting held in May 1926, he gave a frank talk. He said, "Unfortunately the condition of the country is too bad. The danger of Hindu-Muslim disunity is very serious. This is not only bad for both the nations but dangerous for the struggle for freedom too. India has forgotten now what sacrifices it has offered for this unity. I still whole heartedly support the same unity of Hindu-Muslims as I did earlier. The abandonment of this may cause an irreparable harm. I am presenting here the history of unity of Muslims and Hindus.

Due to the Malabar risings and Multan riots the Hindus were excited, and they increased the strength of the Hindu Mahasabha and enhanced the activities of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*. The Hindus are responsible for this step. Will my Hindu brothers tell me if such events had not happened in Arrah and Katarpur? Did the Muslims not feel insecure there? Why this reaction of the Hindus after Multan? Will the well-wishers of the Hindu-Muslim unity see any good in this mentality of the Hindus. If the Hindus desire to achieve Swaraj and they want to fight for their country bravely they should stop their questionable activities in this respect. The Muslims have to see what they have got to do against this behaviour of the Hindus. Should they remain silent or react to this policy? This session is held to formulate a policy about it. If the Muslims repay there in the same coins they will necessarily take them towards collision, and I will request my Hindu brothers not to push the Muslims to that side."

In this speech he explained the point of view of the common Muslims of those days. He was shocked to see that it had prevailed

upon the policy of the Indian National Congress; and now the Muslims could not think themselves safe if they still continued to remain in the Congress.

In order to sort out these differences and to bring the two groups together he in consultation with other leaders, like Dr. Ansari, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, founded a new party called Indian National Union. He wanted to rejuvenate the Swaraj group which was passing under the influence of Mahasahha.

In spite of all his frank talk and good intentions Hindu Papers like *Partap* commented adversely, e. g. "When Hakim Ajmal Khan has started to talk in the same strain as Khwaja Hasan Nizami then who can be relied upon? Mr. Gandhi had placed the destiny of 20 crores of Hindus in the hands of Ajmal Khan in 1921; that Ajmal Khan has died. The Ali-Brothers were Mallas even before joining the Congress; we do not feel too much for them if they go against us now; but Ajmal Khan has put the blame on the Hindus, to whom should we now go?"

In spite of all this the other party was not ready to accept their mistakes and if they were criticised they started complaining and blaming Ajmal Khan.

The Muslims of India rightly thought that if the integrity of Ajmal Khan in spite of his honest intentions could be doubted who could win the confidence of Hindus without becoming their yes-man. When the last hope was doomed, the Muslims started in finding some solution separately, which ended finally in the establishment of Pakistan.

Hakim Ajmal Khan never wanted to prolong the issues and therefore he did not enter into controversy with *Partap* and other Hindu papers.

The communal riots took a great toll of lives. In fact life became miserable for both the nations. It became certain that the two people could not live in peace. Who knows that if Ajmal Khan been alive he would have become the most ardent supporter of the idea of Pakistan in the later thirties and early forties. For a man of his nature the only way to avert civil war among the different sections of the people of India would have been partitioned.

In one of the speeches he had asked the '*Ulama*' to stop taking very active part in politics and devote themselves instead to *Ijtehad* and to think on problems like banking system, interest, pardah system etc. He did not appreciate the activities of Deoband, which had started taking a keen interest in politics.

The '*Ulama*' did not like this speech of Ajmal Khan and they thought that his ideas were harmful to their interests.

In December Ajmal Khan had not been able to attend the Congress session of Gauhati. He sent the message, "If the Congress does not produce a programme for Hindu-Muslim unity thinking it vital then permit me to say that their whole programme will be useless."

In the same month Shardhanand was killed in Delhi and Ajmal Khan deplored this deed. But the Hindus suspected him of having sympathy with the murderer.

Ajmal Khan's health was broken; he knew he was passing through his last years. But even in this state he made a tour of Bihar to collect money for the Jamia. In April he participated in the Tibbia Conference held in Rampur.

In the beginning of 1927 again there were communal riots throughout the country. Even at this stage Ajmal Khan called a board to solve the problem. In September started the Combined Conference at Simla, which Ajmal Khan attended, but this conference failed because communalism had overwhelmed the leaders also. Dr. Monjee declared in Nagpur "I will force the Muslims with a rod", and Zafar Ali Khan replied "I do not fear the rod of Hindus".

Ajmal Khan gave a statement to the Associated Press explaining his point of view and asking co-operation from others.

In November 1927 the Hindus refused to hear Mr. Srinivas Ayanger's speech made in a Hindu-Muslim gathering about the common differences of the people. In the same month Ajmal Khan made his last speech in the Jamia Millia and welcomed Gandhi. In his speech he explained how the Jamia was founded as a national institution and was the symbol of non-co-operation with the Government. He emphasized on the national outlook of the boys there, which could not be found in other institutions run by the Government or with its help.

After this he went to Rampur, which he left once only to meet H. M. Amanullah Khan who was proceeding on a tour of Europe. At last on the 29th December 1927, at 2-15 A. M. he collapsed and with him collapsed the last hope of an understanding between the Muslims and the Hindus. Therefore the paths for the two nations separated and the future leadership found it necessary to adopt that course. On his death the people paid glowing tributes to the memory of this giant in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. "He had an ocean of dutiful feelings in his heart but on the surface he was calm and quiet." In the words of an admirer.

"He was such a personality that we could see balance and unanimity in every inch of this man. If this is acquired even to some extent by anybody, that can make that person a great man. He was a person who showed Hind-Islami Culture in a combined fashion. . He showed the old culture and combined it with the new environment. Death has taken from us in the form of Ajmal Khan the future architect of our future. But his person which at the same time was the rejuvenator of old Tib, reformer of cultural and religious life and leader of national education and foremost leader of Hindu-Muslim unity will live for ever."

Ajmal Khan was one of the top-most leaders of the subcontinent in the first quarter of this century. His contribution to the struggle for freedom was very great indeed. The Hindu-Muslim unity and non-co-operation were the two great phases of the nationalist movement during this period. In both his role was very prominent.

A Note on the First Muslim Conquest of Satgaon¹ and Zafar Khan Ghazi, the Conqueror

By

Prof. Abdul Karim, Dacca.

The first reference to Satgaon, among contemporary Muslim chronicles, is found in Diya-ud-Din Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. While describing the Lakhnauti invasion of Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-Din Tughluq, the author says,² ("Sultan Nāsir-ud-Din, ruler of Lakhnauti سلطان ناصر الدین خایاط لکھنوتی را که در اطاعت و بندگی میبقت نموده بود چه ترو دور باش داد۔")

ولکھنوتی بد و حوالت فرمود و باز فرستادو ستگانوں و سنار گانوں خبیث شد۔ was reinstated as a reward to his loyalty and submission. He was given umbrella and staff and Lakhnauti was handed over to him, and he was sent back there and Satgaon and Sonargaon were annexed.")

But this account of Barani is misleading as it does not clearly say as to when and how Satgaon was conquered. Did Tughluq Shah consolidate an already conquered territory or he conquered the territory for the first time? Unfortunately this is one of the many problems that we have to face in ascertaining when and how different parts of Bengal were brought under the Muslims; histories written in the far off city of Delhi do not help us much. Minhāj has given a spectacular description as to how Nadiya was invaded by Muhammad Bakhtiyār,³ but then Nadiya does not, for a long time, come to the picture, neither in literary nor in Medalllic or mural sources.⁴ Similar

1. Satgaon was the name of an ancient part of Bengal at the junction of the rivers Bhāgirathi and Saraswati. With the silting up of the river Saraswati, Satgaon lost its prominence as a part. In the Muslim period the name Satgaon roughly corresponded to South-West Bengal.
2. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (*Bibliotheca Indica*) text p. 451.
3. Minhaj : *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (text) *Bib. Indica*, p. 151.
4. In a coin of Sultan Mughīth-ud-Din Yuzbak dated 653 A.H./A.D. 1253, we find that the coin was struck from the Kharaj (land-tax) of Nadiya (*vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, hereafter referred to as J.A.S.B. 1881 p. 61,) which led scholars to think that the coin was struck to commemorate the conquest or reconquest of Nadiya.

is the case with Sonargaon which is first mentioned by Barani in connection with Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban's invasion of Lakhnauti¹

Danuj Rai the ruler of Sonargaon entered into a treaty with Sultan Balban against the rebel Tughril by agreeing to prevent the latter escaping by water. Then in connection with Ghiyath-ud-Din Tughluq's invasion of Lakhnauti he says that Sanargaon and Satgaon were annexed and at the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq both Sonargaon and Satgaon were converted to separate Governorship²

As the literary source does not help us, we have to fall back upon the epigraphic and munismatic sources. Fortunately a number of inscriptions have been found at Triveni in the monument known as Zafar Khan's tomb, which led Dr. K. R. Qanungo to call the niausoleum a museum of Muslim epigraphy.³ Two of these inscriptions have recorded the name of Zafar Khan, whose name also occurs in another inscription found a Gangarampur, in the Dinajpur district. These three inscriptions studied with *Kurisi namah*, a legend, preserved by the *Khadims* of the tomb of Zafar Khan at Triveni and found by D Money⁴ in 1847, gives us an idea of the first Muslim conquest of Satgaon.

The first inscription found at Zafar Khan's mosque at Triveni is dated A. H. 698/A. D 1298. It records,⁵ that in the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-Din Kaikaus (grandson of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban and son of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Bughra Khan), Zafar Khan, who built a *Madrasah*, "destroyed the obdurate among infidels with his sword and spear and lavished the treasure of his wealth in (helping) the miserable." The second inscription of the same place is dated A. H 713/A. D 1313 and records that one Zafar Khan built a *Madrasah* known as *Dar-ul-Khair* (house of Benevolence)⁶ in the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-Din Firuz Shah. The inscription found at Gangarampur,⁷ Dinajpur

1. Diya ud Din Barani : *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* (text) p. 87.

2. Barani *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* (text) p. 467; Yahya bin Ahmad bin 'Abduttabas Sirrudi *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, text p. 98.

3. *History of Bengal*, Vol II, p. 78, (Published by Dacca University 1948)

4. JASB 1847, p. 395.

5. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18, p. 13.

6. JASB 1870, p. 287, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18.

7. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18, pp. 11-12 p. 34.

is dated A. H. 697 A. D. 1297 and records the erection of a mosque by one Zafar Khan Bahrám Aidigīn, in the regin of Sultán Rukn-ud-Dīn Kaikaus. The '*Kursinamah*' records that Zafar Khan Ghazī, 'came' to Bengal for the purpose of converting the infidels to the Mahomedan faith. But having made a proselyte of Raja Man Niriputi, he was killed 'in a battle fought with Raja Bhooder at Hugli.' Later on Ugwhan Khan, son of Zafar Khan Ghāzī marched against the Raja of Hugli, in Sarkar Satgaon conquered him, "converted the infidels to Mahomedan faith and married the daughter of the Raja."¹

From the evidences given above, it is clear that Satgaon or Triveni area was first conquered by the Muslim in or about the year A. H. 698/A. D. 1298 in the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-Din Kaikaus. The leader of the expedition was Zafar Khan. His aduerseries were Raja Man Niriputi and Raja Bhooder: It appears that these were not proper names but titles as both Niriputi and Bhooder are synonyms for king in Bengali language. Either they were local chief who made a common cause against the Muslim invaders or were vassal chiefs under Gangā rulers of Orissa.

The conquest of Satgaon by Zafar Khan was in accordance with the policy of expansion of the Balbani Sultans of Bengal and also of Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah² and his sons. During this time Eastern Bengal and Sylhet were also conquered by the Mnslims.³ They might have been encouraged in this policy of expansion by the policy of non-intervention In Bengal affairs by Khalji Sultáns of Delhi.⁴

1. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XVI, 1847, p. 395.

2. The former theory that Shams-ud-din Firuz was a Balbani Sultan has been challenged—Vide *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp. 65-70.

3. Dacca Museum inscription of Rukn Khan records that Sylhet was first conquered by the Muslims in the reign of Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah. Bang (East Bengal) has been first mentioned in a coin of Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus of the year A.H. 690/A.D. 1290. (Vide *J.A.S.B.* 1922, Stapleton's article on "Contribution to the history and ethnology of North-Eastern India").

4. Even if we accept Barani's statement that 'Ala-ud-dīn Khalji was contemplating to invade Bengal before he came to the throne and that again in or about 698 A.H. he thought of sending Zafar Khan, the plan did not actually materialise. (Vide Barani : *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (text) p. 228,230. This led Stapleton to suggest that the presence of numerous saints and Ghaz's in Bengal at this time might even have been due to some definite policy on the part of the Delhi sovereign." (Vide *J.A.S.B.* 1922, p. 414). But all this is surmise and does not corroborate facts.

The next question that baffles the historians; is, - who is Zafar Khan, the conqueror of Satgaon ? The name is obtained, as pointed out earlier, from three inscriptions. The Gāngarampur¹ inscription gives خسر زمان شهاب الحق . والدين سکندرالثانی الغاعظم همايون ظفر خان بهرام اتیکن السلطانی .

the lofty title (Lord of his time Shihab-ul-Haq Wad-din, the second Alexander, the great, the exalted, auspicious, Zafar Khan Bahram Aitigin as-Sultani). The Triveni inscription² of his mosque calls, "Zafar Khan, lion of lions," while the last inscription dated A. H. 713/ A. D. 1313 of the time of Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah³ gives the نصیرالاملام ظہیرالاتمام شهابالحق والدین معینالملوک والسلطانین صبی اربابالیقین

title, (the helper of Islam, the aider of mankind Shihab-ul-Haq Wad-din supporter of the kings and sovereignties, the patron of believers Khani-Jahan Zafar Khan).

These three Zefar Khans have been assumed to be one and the same person by D. Money, R. D. Banerjee and Stapleton.⁴. According to them Zafar Khan was first appointed governor of Deokot in the reign of Rukn-ud-Din-Kaikaus ; then he was transferred to the Southern area for its conquest and was ultimately appointed Governor there. Dr. Yazdani suggests that probably Zafar Khan, whose original name was Bahram Aitigin, later on Shihab-ud-Din as the inscriptions testify was a brother of Firuz Aitigin of the Lakhiserai inscription⁵ of the time of Kaikaus. Both of them took the title سکندر ثانی which led Yazdani to suggest that it signified the strained relation of Bengal with Delhi.⁶ The epithet might also signify the extensive powers that they exercised, with which it was possible for one of the brothers to supplant the ruling dynasty and usurp the throne for himself as suggested by Dr. Qanungo.⁷

1. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 11-12.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4. *J.A.S.B.*, 1847, 1909, 1922.

5. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1917-18, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.

7. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II (published by Dacca University, 1948), p. 77.

Dr. K. R. Qanungo is the first to propound theory that "this Zafar Khan, Khan-i-Jahan, of the reign of Sultán Shams-ud-Din Firuz was an altogether different person from Zafar Khan, the warrior-saint who had built a *Madrasah* in the same locality, (Triveni) fifteen years earlier in 698 A. H."¹ He, however, identifies Zafar Khan of the time of Shams-ud-Din Firuz with Zafar Khán Bahram Aitigin of Gangarampur inscription of 697 A. H. His arguments may be summarised as follows :—

- (i) Zafar Khan Gházī died a martyr in a battle with some Hindu Chiefs at the initial stage of the reign of Kaikaus and not as late as 713 A.H. in the reign of Shams-ud-Dín Firuz.
- (ii) "This second Zafar Khan, the Builder of the *Dar-ul-Khair* at Triveni in 713 A.H. styles himself Ziaul-Haq Wa-al-dín Zafar Khan, drops Bahram Aitigin as-Sultani, adds Khan-i-Jahan, (his official title)." By this probably he means that Zafar Khan Gházī did not use the official title because he was not an officer of the state but a saint who dedicated himself to the spread of Islam.
- (iii) Zafar Khan Ghazi does not call himself عین الملوك والسلطانين (aider of kings and monarchs) which is proclaimed by Zafar Khan of 713 A.H.

From the arguments put forward by Dr. Qanungo it seems that the learned author gives too much importance upon the evidence of '*Kursinamah*.' According to the '*Kursinamah*' Zafar Khan died a martyr, but it does not supply even an approximate date. The interval between the issue of two inscriptions under discussion is only 15 years. Could we not suggest that the battle was a protracted one and lasted for over 15 years? In view of the fact that it was the last point where the Hindus made a final attempt to check the Muslim march towards the south and south-west, this seems to be a logical conclusion. On the strength of the world Vijaya Samaye in the Kenduapatna

1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II (published by Dacca University, 1948, p. 77).

inscription of king Narasinha II of Orissa, R.D. Banerjee¹ suggests that the Ganga ruler invaded Bengal in 1296 A.D. In Oriya language Vijaya means presence and not victory, and Dr. D.C. Sircar² is of the opinion that "there is no reference to any victory here as often wrongly 'supposed.'

As for the second argument of Dr. Qanungo, 'it is not wholly corroborated by facts. No author who published the inscription (D. Money, Blochmann and G. Yazdani) has read the title of Zafar Khan as Ziaul-Haq Wad-din but all of them read Shihāb-ul-Haq Wad-din. I have examined the inscription published by Yazdani in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18 p. 34 and found that the words شہاب الحق والدین are quite legible. The name ایتکنیں was of course dropped, most probably because he was by this time (713 A.H.) more famous as Zafar Khan. As for Khan-i-Jahan, his official title, it is quite clear. The title might have been conferred upon him after he issued his first inscription dated A.H. 698/A.D. 1298.

The third argument of Dr. Qanungo hardly needs to be refuted. The author himself suggests that Zafar Khan claimed the title معین الملوك والسلطان in his inscription of 713 A.H. as he had perhaps helped Firuz in the dynastic revolution after the death of Kaikaus.³ Admitting his own suggestion, it may be reasonably argued that Zafar Khan did not call himself معین الملوك والسلطان (aider of kings and monarchs) in his first inscription of Triverni dated 698 A.H., only because the dynastic revolution itself took place about three years after the issue of the record.⁴

Dr. Qanungo seems to have been obsessed with the word Ghāzi. The word Ghāzi means one who fights for the sake of religion and comes out successful. 'Kursinamah,' the only source

1. R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1930, p. 273.

2. J.A.S.B., Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 1, p. 35.

3. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 78.

4. The earliest extant coin of Sultān Shams-ud-Din Firuz Shāh is dated A.H. 701/A.D. 1301. Vide Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coins of Bengal, Assam*. II ed., Allahabad, 1930, p. 137.

which ascribes the title Ghazi with the name of Zafar Khan was found in possession of the *Khadems* of the tomb and its authenticity is not beyond question. It is not acceptable that Zafar Khan fought against the infidels solely with the idea of converting them to the Muhammedan faith without any political motive as '*Kursinamah*' would have us believe. Zafar Khan must have been commissioned by the ruling Sultán and it must have been a part of the policy of expansion of Rukn-ud-Dín Kaikaus and Shams-ud-Dín Firuz, as it was the case with other parts of Bengal.

The foregoing discussion leads us to the conclusion that Zafar Khan of the three inscriptions and of '*Kursinamah*' may be identified as one and the same person.

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KHAN JAHAN ALI KHAN

By

M. Mansoor Uddin, Dacca.

Khan Jahan Ali Khan was a great sufi of Islam in lower Bengali. It is difficult to trace his origin and history. It is not possible for us to ascertain his birth date. In a Bangali book it is said that in early life he was a Minister of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq who reigned in Delhi. As a successful officer of the king Khan Jahan Ali Khan won his heart. But Khan Jahan did not like to serve a weak king like Muhammad Tughlaq. So with the royal permission he desired to leave the court and prayed for an estate near about Jaunpur. The king gladly granted his prayers and in addition he conferred on him the title of Malik-al-Sharq. And that was in 1394 A. D.

Khan Jahan came to Jaunpur and established a new kingdom acknowledging fully the suzerainty of the Sultan of Delhi. Khan Jahan ruled peacefully and firmly.

Khan Jahan was a lover of literature. He patronised Arabic, Persian and Urdu Literatures lavishly. He was fond of art and architecture.

Khan Jahan felt disgusted with mundane life and hankered after spiritual life. So he placed his adopted son Mubarak on the throne of Jaunpur and left it for good in 1398 A. D.

Khan Jahan started for the East of India. It is not definitely known the route he followed and the time he took to arrive at Baybazar, ten miles away from the district town of Jessore in E. Bengal. The Chinese traveller Young Chuang visited Barabazar where there was Buddhist Monastery. But in course of time this monastery was revived. Ultimately some Muslim saints long afterwards took shelter into it. It is said that Jalaluddin Tubrizi was one of them and he was a contemporary to the last king of Bengal and Lakshman Sen. These Muslim *Faqirs* did spread Islam in Bengal. Some of them did fight with local kings and were often called *Gazis*. In connection of their heroic deeds a class of ballads developed and spread

all over Bengal. These songs were called the songs of *Gazis*. It may be mentioned that many of the beautiful Eastern Bengal ballads (edited by Dr. D. C. Sen published by the University of Calcutta) are the songs of *Gazis*. Any way in such a ballad we find the following lines referring to the advent of the *Gazi* at Barabazar. All the subjects were of Hindu faith and there was not a single man of Islamic faith." In course of time Barabazar became of a big centre of Musalmans.

Khan Jahan stayed at Barabazar. Seeing his spiritual and beautiful life and character many local Hindu inhabitants accepted Islam upon his hand. Khan Jahan established there some tanks for drinking water and mosques for prayers.

Khan Jahan left afterwards Barabazar leaving behind him some of his close disciples, there to continue the preaching of Islam and he proceeded towards Murali by *Gazis Jarigal* i.e.; a big, long and high road made by the *Gazis*. Murali is near about Jessor. He did not stay long at Murali. In course of his short stay at Murali it was converted into a small and prospering town. He left behind him at Murali two of his noted disciples Gharib Shah and Berani Shah who stayed there till their death. They also were well known for their spiritual achievements and dignity. Even now their tombs are visited by thousands of Hindus and Muslims. Khan Jahan Ali converted many Hindus; some Hindu zamindars on conversion as his able disciples. There was a Hindu zemindar who on conversion accepted the name of Taher Ali, and this Taher Ali was deeply attached to Pir Jahan Ali and so he was called a Pirali Mussalman. It may be pointed out that even those Hindus who contacted Pir Khan Jahan Ali were likewise called Pirali Hindus. It may be noted that great Tagore family of Calcutta of which Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore comes, belongs to this Pirali group of the Hindus.

Appointing Md. Taher was Governor of Paygram he left for the village of Basuri. He established a big tank there. He proceeded further to Subharadha. He established a mosque there. He crossed many villages and reached Barackpur. He proceeded further and arrived at Senhati. Senhati is named after king Lakshman Sen as

he stayed there for a short while. Khan Jahan Ali Khan travelled many places and on way built roads and constructed tanks and ultimately arrived at Bagharhat in Khulna in E. Bengal.

Bagharhat was at the time only a village. He made it his seat of Government and gave it a new name of Khilafatabad.

The Chinese traveller Young Chuang visited it as there were some Buddhist monasteries. But before the arrival of Khan Jahan Ali everything was in ruins. Khan Jahan Ali Khan became too old when he settled at Khilafatabad. He constructed a very big tank here. It is thousand cubits in length and six hundred cubits in breadth. It is still used by people. The water is crystal clear even now.

Khan Jahan Ali established a remarkably beautiful mosque with sixty copulas. It is one of the finest examples of architacture in East Bengal. It is in length 106 cubits and 70 cubits in breadth. This mosque was used also as the Durbar hall of Khan Jahan Ali Khan. The mosque is near about the river of Bhairab.

It is said that Khan Jahan Ali Khan was unmarried. But probably he had two maid servants called : Sona Bibi and Rupa Bibi. Their graves are near about the mosque.

I already told that Khan Jahan Ali Khan established a big city there at Bagharhat. He fetched stones of block, some from distant places by the river Bhairab. He used the materials of old Buddhist monasteries that were in ruins and locally available.

Khan Jahan Ali Kahn probably stayed at Khilafatabad for twenty years.

The *Ain-e-Akbari* mentions the name of subah of Khilafatabad. During the time of Akbar, the Great the Khilafatabad contributed a revenue of Rs. 1,35,053-8-0. At the time Khilafatabad was famous for pepper and in Jungles wild elephants were found in abundance.

At last the last days of Khan Jahan Ali Khan drew near. He used to pass his closing days in the grave he made ready for him. He gave up all luxaries and pleasures of life. At this time he entertained a large number of friends and mendicants daily. Half a mile from

the Shat Gumhas Mosque he is burried. He estahlished a big tank near his tomb. This tomb is called Thakur Dighi. The water of this tank is proverbially famous. It is a thousand cubits in length and breadth. .

Khan Jahan Ali Khan nursed two crocodiles one is called Kalapar and the other Dhalapar — the black one and the white one.

Khan Jahan Ali died on 863 Hijri, 26th Zulhajj corresponding to 1458 A.D. 23rd October

In one place of his tomb is written as an epitaph "Who is dead", — "A Sajorver." Why did he die? "He died for God."

In the Bengali month of Chitra every year sits a big fair near the tomb of Hazrat Khan Jahan Ali Khan.

The Fundamental Unity of West Pakistan

BY

Mr. M.A. ROOMAN, Quetta.

"History must from time to time be re-written, not because new facts have been discovered, but because new aspects come into view, because the participation in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner."¹

(Goethe)

West Pakistan, with a population of about 34 millions in 1951 is an ethnological museum. It presents a vast spectacle of different racial groups and communities and their respective cultures and languages. Even in the religious field there is a wide diversity and heterogeneity in the creeds within and without the fold of Islam. The degree of culture attained and visible in the different regions ranges between the old Stone Age and the Modern. It seems to be a land of contrasts and opposites. Take, for instance, the case of the various constituent parts of its population. Here the Semitic elements and Aryan racial types gospel together. Though the Aryans predominate yet the Semitic race has made a considerable contribution to its population, which will be studied presently. In between these two racial combinations, Aryans and Semitics, come the Sakas or Scythians, who are represented by Jats, generally reckoned amongst the Aryan group.

The Pathans, numbering about $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions, claim themselves to be one of the lost tribes of Semitic Ben Israel and though some of them shave off the middle part of their head and indulge in usury like the Jews and possess Jewish features yet these are over-generalised and flimsy reasons. The modern research has traced their Aryan origin back to Avesta which calls their territory 'Vara Pishin anha'. Herodotus calls them Pakhtyas with Zhab (Zab of the Arabs)

1. Quoted by S. R. Sharma in his "Mughal Empire in India", p. 830.

or Takht-e-Suleiman (Zabulistan of the Arabs) as their cradle¹. The Rajputs, combining the indigenous and foreign elements like Huns,² are over-whelmingly Aryan. They at the present, number about 5 millions in West Pakistan.

The Semitic constellation consists of Brauhuis, Balochs and Aryans. The Brauhuis, about 6 lacs in strength, are considered to be the oldest inhabitants of Baluchistan, the remnants of Indus Valley culture, the survivors from Indo-Aryan hordes who took refuge in the far-off, forbidding and unattractive mountains of Baluchistan and having a linguistic similarity with the Dravidians of Southern India as thought by Dr Grierson³. The latest theory advanced by Mir Gul Khan Nasir, the author of *Tarikh-i-Baluchistan*, modifies the above views to the extent that Brauhuis, in fact Burz Kohis or dwellers of Elburz Mountains of Persia, were Semites settled in Persia which they had to leave for political reasons and that they were the earliest Baloch immigrants who, coming into Baluchistan and living for centuries here, adopted the local culture and language, so much so that their language, identified with the local one, resembling the Dravidian language, changed so much that the later Baloch bands found it alien⁴. If we accept this theory, we may infer that Brauhuis are Semites which is not changed even if we accept the older theory of their being the oldest inhabitants. The History of the human culture may be, more or less, ascribed to the two races—Semitic and Aryan. They have taken up the task almost alternately. Until this time the generally accepted view is that Semites took the lead. The earliest stage of culture was potemic or reverne and this was purely a product of the Semitics or their allied communities. The Babylonians, Chaldeans, Phenicians, Canaanites, and Hebrews were all Semitic. The oldest known culture in Babylonia was the Sumerian which was a joint product of Sumerians and Semitic

1 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*—Vol VI & XXIV—pp 2877-80 and 430 respectively — Vide also "Afghanistan" by Sir Fraser Iyler, Oxford University Press, 1950

2 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1950 Edition, Vol XII, p 168

3 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*—Vol VI—Oxford, 1908, p 288

4 "Tarikh-i-Baluchistan" by Gul Khan Nasir, published Quetta, 1952, pp 9 to 15 of first Chapter

Akkadians. Now, it has been proved by the archaeologists that the Baluchistan cultures and Indus Valley culture, having organic relations, were connected with Western Asia or the fertile 'crescent.' While the Baluchistan cultures were more related to the half-semitic Sumerian Culture, the Indus Valley Culture had closer relations with Akkadians, pure Semites.¹ Then the population of Indus Valley was predominantly of Mediterranean type which presumably, was the main contributor of the agricultural and urban features of the whole Western Indian pre-historic world. In the words of Stuart Piggot, "Mediterranean type is common to all Western Asian settlements in the earliest times—Indus Valleyans, ancient Baluchistanis and West Asians were once Mediterraneans come from West."² Therefore it can be safely asserted that the ancient Baluchistanis and Indus Valleyans were Semites and the area from Tigris—Euphrates to Sutlej from about 3000 to 1500 B. C. was Semitic. The peaceful nature of Indus Valleyans also indicates their Semitic character. The Semites have been generally so while the Aryans have been more warlike. This Semitic ascendancy in South Western Asia was to be challenged by the Indo-Europeans, about 1500 B. C., who defeated, killed, enslaved and compelled these Semites to go to mountains or deserts. Similar must have been the fate of the Indus Valley Semites. They were overtaken suddenly, killed in the most brutal manner, enslaved and Sudras and were compelled to move to South India where, in the given climate and Aryanisation since the days of Ramechandra, they were absolutely changed in culture and complexion though they did retain commercial and friendly relations with Semitic Asia. The Brohis (or pre-Brohis) decided to stay in Baluchistan after the Aryan holocaust though they were less fortunate than their brethren in South India and could not maintain contact with the Semites because they were wedged in between the Aryan Persia and Aryan India. Thus the Brauhis are the Semites of the most ancient stock which began the human culture. The Aryans shattered this Semitic ascendancy and established their own about 1500 B.C. to the first half of 7th Century A.C. when the Semites, once again,

1. *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*—London, 1950—Vol. II, pp. 22—27.

2. *Pre-historic India* by Stuart Pigott—Harmondsworth, Middle Sex, 1952, Chapters IV and V, pp. 118 and 140.

end of 7th or beginning of 8th century A.C. Their entry was speeded up due to the rise of Seljuq Turks in 11th century though their final settlement was not complete till 15th century. Even then a part of their population remained in Iranian and Afghan Baluchistans¹ where they may be counted about one million. They have been considered as Turco-Iranians but their Semitic theory of origin, upheld in their traditions,² seems to be more acceptable. The mere fact that they migrated from Iran does not go to prove that they are Aryans. The Arabs, like the ancient Greeks, had established their numerous settlements in the countries they conquered. After the conquest of Iran in 642 A.C. they settled in large numbers in Kburasan so that the defiant Iranians should not escape to Central Asia as well as the Central Asians should be effectively checked from raiding into Iran. The Balochs may be one of those Arab tribes. In the second instance, their social system differs from that of the Pathans. The Pathan system is hard and rigid with its essential basis on blood relation. The sense of kindred is strongest and persists, in their case, for centuries. The system never loses its identity or merges itself into a wider circle. It is original but exclusive. It is generally democratic within but autocratic without. It is like the caste system in rigidity. The Baluch system is contrasted with the Pathan system. It is not rigid but flexible. It embraces the aliens after a test of faith like the Arabs who considered the faithful non-Arabs as Mowallis.³ Thirdly, the Balochs, throughout the centuries, have been habitually confined to the deserts taking delight in their camels and horses and, above all, in their aloof independence without any craving or greed for foundation of empires just like the Arabs. What Takhate-Suleiman was to the Pathans, that Mrkran was to the Balochs who found in it the reminiscences and sweet memories of vast, expansive and almost romantic sands of Arabia with glorious date palms, useful to them in so many ways. Their language, considered as Turko-Iranian, cannot be accepted as a definitive proof of their origin because of their stay in Iran, close proximity with that country since centuries, their conne-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

2. "Tariikh-i-Baluchistan"—Rai Bahadur Hillu Ram, Lahore, 1898, pp. 8-10.

3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Vol. VI, p. 290.

tion with Persianised Mughuls and their neighbourly political relations with Pathans. Persian, in fact, during the Muslim Age, was the linguafranca. Anyhow the Balochs established themselves in Makran on the west of Brauhui, Kalat and Kachhi-Marri-Bukti lands to its east and from here they spread throughout West Pakistan though always retaining the territory of Makran, where they once resided, as part of their names.¹

The Arains are at least 3½ millions strong. They were originally 'al-Rais', meaning shephered in Arabic but later on seem to have taken up soldierly profession. They either accompanied Mohd. Bin Qasim in his attack on West Pakistan in 711 A. C or followed afterwards as Arab colonists. The Arab rule in West Pakistan was confined to Sind, Bahawalpur and Panjab therefore the Arains are generally found in Sind, Bahawalpur and Panjab. Their settlement in Pili-Bhit (U. P. Bharat) district, numbering about 15,000 is a later migration. They came here as soldiers but soon adopted agriculture and, therefore, became more advanced than the Balochs, another Semitic fragment, perhaps more numerous than these in the beginning. It was the adoption of agriculture, one of the main incentives to the growth of population which increased their numbers and today they are decidedly the most efficient, specialised and agriculturised community of West Pakistan. Their contribution to the Punjab, Bahawalpur and Sind Canal colonics is inestimable.

Scattered and having a boundness attachment to their fields, they have been averse to political power. Irrigable and fertile land, wherever to be found, has been their favourite home. Besides mobility and adaptability, they have an admirable fitness for civil administration and, since a generation, they have picked up a fresh interest in militaay life.

Thus the Aryan group comprises Pathans, Rajputs—both martial classes—and Jats, mostly agriculturists while the Semites include pastoral Brauhuis, semi-agriculturised Balochs, agriculturised Arains and religious leaders, Sayyads, about 1 million strong.

1. Divan Muzaffar Turabati, a Finance Minister of Akbar the Great (1556—1605), belonged to Turbat in Makran. So also Dasti Balochs of Punjab originally migrated from Dasht in Makran.

Coming to the languages, West Pakistanis speak the following four languages :—

1. Balochi is spoken in Baluchistan State Union and Chagai district or Kalat Commissionery of West Pakistan and Sibi district of Quetta Commissionary.
2. Sindhi is spoken in Sind and Khairpur.
3. Panjabī covers Bahawalpur and Punjab.
4. Pakhtu or Pashtoo is mainly spoken in Tribal Area, major part of Frontier Province and Regions and about half the population of Quetta Commissionary.

Starting from the South Western tip, the following are the main dialects spoken :—

Western Balochi or Makrani, Brauhui in Kalat proper, Lassi in Las Bela, Jatki or Jagdah in Kachhi, Sindhi in Sind and Khairpur, Eastern Balochi in Marri Bugti area, Khetrani in Barkhan Sub-division, pashtoo in North and Central Quetta Commissionery, Persian by the Mongal Hazaras in Quetta Valley, Multani or Babawaipuri, Panjabī, Western Panjabī, Pakhtoo or Northern Pashtoo and Hindko, resembling Western Panjabī spoken in Hazara, Campbellpur and D. I. Khan districts of Peshawar and D. I. Khan Commissionaries.

The estimated strength of the speakers of the main languages may be as follows :—

Language			Approx. strength (lacs)	Percentage of W. P. Pop. (1951)
Panjabi	...	...	200	65%
Pashtoo	...	...	45	14%
Sindhi	...	...	35	10%
Brauhui	...	..	5	1½%
Balochi	...	...	5	1½%
Urdu	...	...	10	3%

Religiously speaking, the overwhelming majority of West Pakistanis is Muslim who form more than or about 95% of the population. They are classified into two broadsects—Sunnis and Shias with many sub-divisions and sub-sects. The non-muslims include the Hindus, Parsees and Christians.

Judging culturally, Kalat Commissionary, Quetta Commissionary, considerable parts of Bahawalpur Commissionary and tribal areas are under-developed and backward while the greater Parts of Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Khairpur and Hyderabad Commissionaries are comparatively more developed and advanced.

Geographically, West Pakistan may be roughly divided into two parts—the Western and South Western part and Eastern part. The Western is mountainous but the mountains are neither too high to facilitate condensation and produce rain nor compact. The Southern mountains are the rugged eastern part of Iranian plateau. The valleys, deserts and mountains are overlapping. The rivers are small, uncertain and generally dry up before they reach the sea. On the whole the area is arid. The struggle for existence is hard so the people are hardy and warlike since ancient times. The population is sparse. The North Western portion is inhabited by Pathans, Rajputs, Gujars, Jats and Awans who all make intrepid soldiers. But, more than this, the area is the cradle of Afghan race. Zhob is situated in North Baluchistan. The South Western portion is more arid and the least populated area, the density being 6.9 persons per square mile. This area is purely inhabited by Brauhuis and Balochs with a Jat substratum in the population. Both the portions have important passes which have been active, since pre-historic centuries, in transplanting peoples to this region. While the Northern routes were generally used by the Aryans or the allied Turco-Iranians, the Southern were mostly within the reach of Semites. These passes have made West Pakistan sometimes central Asian and sometimes West Asian and never allowed it to become Indian. The parent stocks of the Pathans and Balochs, fixed in Takht-i-Suleiman and Makran respectively, have preserved their respective languages, social systems and cultures due partly to the accommodating spirit of Islam and partly to their aloofness in these regions where man

has not been able to master Nature. The Pathans have a more powerful sense of self while the Balochs excel the former in calmness, patience and social instinct and both these communities have contributed to the population as well as the culture of West Pakistan. While the Pathans were born in West Pakistan, they spread throughout North India. The Balochs, being as warlike as the Pathans, were employed in the Mughul Cavalry and cameltry and the popular tradition believes that their be an Ideal, Mir Chakar Rind, was instrumental in the recovery of India by Humayun¹ yet their expansion was mainly confined to West Pakistan.

The Eastern part of West Pakistan consists of wide, extensive plains. They are built by the silt brought down from the Himalayas by the rivers. They are the gifts of the glorious river system of Indus fed on its east by the five rivers of the Panjab and on its west by Kabul, Kurram, Zhob, Tocht etc. Here the weather is well defined. The waters have promoted and sustained agriculture and the rivers have been the great highways of trade and commerce. The population is much denser, being 259 persons per square mile in Panjab. The extreme heat is tempered down by the rivers. Life is easier and more settled. The people have the shed considerable sweat and blood for tilling the soil yet they have enough to eat, wear and save and enough spare time to think build create and visualise. All these have made the plains a crucible, a melting pot, a meeting place of the cultures and sub-cultures. While the western part developed small scale and self-contained peasant sub-cultures about 3000 B.C., all these culminated in the Indus Valley culture in these plains. Here alone an internal organisation and progress was allied with a brisk external connexion. Here alone the cities and factories developed and the people knew the rivers and commercial inter-course. Here again the population was not homogeneous but contained different types. As many as four distinct types have been marked by Piggott.² The sense of organisation and quest for better technique—the marks of a scientific society—were visible. In short, here alone, the city states were gradually being superseded by a more complex and comprehensive political organisation. The plains

1 "Tarikh-i-Baluchistan"—Hitti Ram, p. 20

2 'Prehistoric India'—pp. 148—149

have kept their doors open for the in-comers. Take, for instances, the Panjab and you find that it owes its greatness in military or economic or social or potential fields not to one community but to all the communities who have voluntarily merged into the social self to glorify the area. The contributions made towards this pre-eminent position by the pushing Pathans and sedate Balochs have been as substantial as those made by the Rajputs, Jats, Arains and Awans. In fact 'the Panjabi', 'Bahawalpuri' and 'Sindhi' are nothing but territorial names with no communal associations.¹

Thus we find that, apparently, there are so many differences in the West Pakistan body-politic. There are geographical, racial, linguistic, religious and cultural distinctions. But a close and dispassionate study would prove that these very agents of differences have always acted as factors of unification. The so-called bifurcation of geography is only superficial. There has been a both-way traffic between these two regions. In the word of R. E. M. Wheeler, "The two societies (i. e. semi-mobile peoples of the heights and the settled population of the vale), however, are not without common interest. Seasonal movement from the upland to the lowland is still a factor in the social structure of the region, as when the Baluch hill folk come down with their tents and camels and flocks in the winter to trade their labour with the plainsmen. And more than 4,000 years ago there is already evidence for the intrusion of a variety of little hill communities into a strikingly uniform lowland civilisation."² Moreover, human civilisation, while embracing more and more human beings in its arms, is yet characterised by Variety which ensures its development. Uniformity and conformism will reduce the earth to a monotonous sphere. Craze for symmetry in Nature of Human Life is terrible and tyractical. Bertrand Russel has even written this for the sake of variety that "No society can be progressive without a leaven of rebels."³ Human

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1. For instance, the first Chief Minister of Punjab, after partition was Nawab Mamdot, a Hasanzai Afghan; the second Mian Daulatana, a Rajput-Jat; the third, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, a Raiput while the fourth till 14th Oct. 1955, Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti was a Baloch.
 2. "Five thousand years of Pakistan" by R. E. M. Wheeler, London, 1950, p. 11.
 3. "The Impact of Science on Society" by Barnad Russell-London 1952, p. 83.

civilisation, therefore, is simple as well as complex, homogeneous as well as heterogeneous, diverse as well as unified. Let us, therefore, now, find out unity in the diversity of West Pakistan

Seen in the perspective of History, West Pakistan, has been a unit since centuries past. It was in its south western portion that the first sub-cultures, discussed at length by Professor Piggott in his 'Pre-historic India',¹ were developed. These sub-cultures were small-scale, self contained and peasant, neither capable of accomodating large populations nor of maintaining peace. So, under the inexorable laws of evolution, they culminated in the Indus Valley culture which was wider in area, broader in out-look and deeper in influence. It embraced almost the whole of West Pakistan, having also a settlement at the distant Rupar on Sutlej. It did not extend to western parts of Bharat because it was essentially a culture of the Indus River System. No wonder it had a colony at Rupar. The Redcliffe Award of 1947, with all its barbarity, cannot negative and distort this vital fact of history, geography and economics. the oneness of the areas of Indus system upto the Sutlej in the north East. Secondly, this culture had the closest relations with western Asia but none with India. Even the people, in all probability, were Semites. This phase of Baluchistan sub-cultures and Indus Valley culture began about 3000 B C. and ended about 1500 B C. when the nihilistic Indo-Europeans swarmed into the semitic lands uprooting them though they had to bow to the Semitic Culture for centuries in order to learn the art of living.² The second page of Indus Valley shows it to be the first home of Indo Aryans in this sub-continent. It was here that they conceived and composed their Rig Veda, about 1500 B C., a fine piece of literature glorifying and defying the natural phenomena, flora and fauna of West Pakistan. After their departure to Kurukshetra, West Pakistan was left to itself and a merger of the Indus Valley and Aryan elements, began to take place. Some times even wars took place between the Bharati Aryans and West Pakistani Aryans.³ In the

1. *Ibid*, pp 72—131.

2 "Hints for Culture" by Har Dayal, London, 1934, p 51.

3 Vide My article "Maharaja Porus" published in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol I, Part II, April 1953, pp 145—147

meantime, the Aryans of Ariana or Persia had proved to be more amenable to cultural discipline and founded an Imperial dynasty—the Achaemenian, the greatest ever since in the history of Iran. These Iranians, saturated as they were with the Semitic cultural traditions of Babylonia, captured West Pakistan in 6th century B.C. though east of Indus areas were left quasi-independent. Gandhara (the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi) became the twentieth satrapy and it was the richest and most populous of all satrapies paying one million sterling to the Achaemenians. Large parts of Quetta and Kalat Commissionaries were included in the satrapy of Arachosia while, to the south lay Gedrosia, the land of Gadaras or dark people. The Achaemenians also banished a few thousand rebellious families from Khurasan into West Pakistan, esp. Multan and Lahore and these became the nucleus of Persialisatior of this area and seem to have helped the Ghaznavids and Ghorids in establishing their power.¹ The general and popular form of government, outside the Achaemenian pale, remained, however, republican. The Iranian Part of West Pakistan contributed a large number of fighting forces to the Achaemenian army. The Greeks found about twenty republics of various kinds though influential monarchies, like those of Maharaja Porus and Abhisares, also existed. Just as Porus was a successor to the Achaemenians so was Chandragupta to Alexander. West Pakistan, for the first and the last time in Hindu History, became one with India under the Mauryans. But then the Mauryans were West Pakistanis. Chandragupta was a Swati.² while Chankya, the precursor of Machiavelli in political science, was a Taxilan. The Mauryan army was mostly West Pakistani. It was a phase of West Pakistan ruling over the whole of India as well as Afghanistan after 305 B.C. Asoka introduced Budhism and, after his death, West Pakistan again drifted away from India and became independent until the Kushans (Yueh-chis, the enemies of Sakas or Jats who were ruling over southern West Pakistan) made it a part of central Asia. Kanishka ruled over his empire from Peshawar. The Guptas as well as

1. "Pre-Mughul Persian in Hindustan" by Prof. M.A. Ghani, Allahabad, pp. XXIV of Preface and 8 of Introductory.

2. *The Museums Jurnal*, Peshawer, Feb. 1955, p. 39.

Harsha could not conquer it and preferred to cultivate its friendship. On the coming of the Muslims it was independent of any Indian influence. Rather, Raja Dahir, the ruler of its greater portion, even used the fugitive Arabs of Ifasi tribe under their leader, Mohammad in his wars against Rajputana which, incidentally was one of the causes of Qasim's invasion.¹ During the Sultanate of Delhi West Pakistan was cut up into administrative provinces of Lahore, Multan and Thatta but, for matters of defence, it was treated as one unit under Balban and Alauddin Khilji when a military viceroy was appointed to fight the Mongols. Under the Mughuls, as under the sultans, it was again one with India but, in both cases, its contributions in academic field (esp. of Sialkot and Lahore), in commercial field (esp. of Multan) and in military field were considerable. Firoze Tughluq, Bahlol Lodhi and Khizri Khan were born and bred up in West Pakistan. Indeed one of the major factors of Humayun's total defeat in 1540 was the loss of his hold on this area. During his flight Akbar was born in Sind and the Baloch Chiefs safely conveyed him to Iran. The Sikhs captured its North central and western parts while Bahawalpur, Sind and Baluchistan remained independent under Daudputras, an off shoot of Abbasids, Baloch Talpurs and Brauhui Ahmedzais. Under the British it was for the first time subjected to a strong centre. It was intentionally kept backward while its raw materials were taken away for Ahmedabad, Lancashire and other places. Thus West Pakistan or Indus Valley, since 3000 B.C. has been either independent as one Unit or, whenever it was connected with its east or west, it had equal status or had the upper hand in administration. This proud lesson of common History and separate entity has been described by Mian Kifait Ali in these words, "Under the great Abdali at the last battle of Panipat we all, Baluchis, Sindhis, Pathans and Panjabis, side by side with the Afghans fought against the Marathas and defeated them in a pitched battle. That was in 1761. We all equally participated in the Jihad started by Syed Ahmed Brelvi (1822-49). In 1849 when Punjab was conquered by the Britishers the Jihad was turned against them (1849-1867). It was after many

¹ "Tariikh-i-Sind" by Maulana Sayyad Abu Zafar Nadvi Azamgarh 1947, pp. 20-25.

a costly campaign and heavy loss that the Britishers succeeded in suppressing the Mujahedeen. At Balakot and other places in the North West Frontier our ancestors fought together and fell together and shed their blood in a common cause. That is our past and such are the traditions bequeathed to us by our forefathers."¹

Another cementing force has been the religion of Islam in this region. In pre-Islamic period, the popular religions here were Hinduism and Budhism. But both did not suit the genius of the people. If a religion cannot unify a people and harness its activities to a united social effort, it defeats its purpose. Hinduism itself was fissiparous. It was a medley of different series of thoughts without any links. The powerful gods thundered in the atmosphere, flew into the skies and walked on earth while the passive Brahma looked on. Therefore it could neither infuse unity nor inculcate a lofty common object. Budhism was an improvement on it because it emanated from one personality—Budha—who was for ever to be the guide and, in its modified form or Northern School or Mahayanism, it began to suit the fighting and ruling classes of this area. But for the common mass of humanity, generally agriculturist, it remained a sweet lullaby. The analysis of human sufferings by Budha was a negation of all human assertion and exertion and encouraged inertia and death of life. Islam, on the other hand, had all the virtues of both without their defects. Its monotheism was a definite guarantee for unity amongst its followers. It recognised the racial status of its component parts but bound them in a single cause. Pakhtoons are no doubt Aryans but were they ever claimed by the Hindus as their kinsmen? They were always neglected, disowned and actually counted amongst Malechhas—the impure and Yavaras—the foreigners. In 20th century, the aggressive national Hinduism in its dreamland has taken immense pains to prove that Afghans have a close cultural affinity with the Hindus—a campaign which has been wielded as a political weapon against Pakistan. It is a fact that the advent of Islam gave the Pathans a unique sense of unity and superiority as well as a craving for going abroad for making conquests. Islam took

1. "West Pakistan—its political and administrative integration" by Mian Kisait Ali, Lahore, 1955, p. 12.

up these rusted atoms and galvanised them into a compact force until they spread in millions in Indo-Pakistan.

Again what consoled the Baluchs when they had left their homes for political and economic reasons? What compensation was there? What enabled them to enjoy the Sun and the Moonlight, the hard summers and harder winters of sandy and stony Baluchistan without a longing for their old homes? What re-enthused them to build a new, fight against the Jats and, in conjunction with Brauhuis, carve out a state which survived the Mughul and British rule? Human beings need something to fall back upon the vicissitudes of Time and it was Islam which remained their safe deposit, Psychological reserve and creative flame. The emigration from the old home was nothing but an opportunity to enrich another piece of God's Earth with their battle-crisis, laughter and creative energy. Again, what enabled them to partake in the social and political changes and yet retain their peculiar culture? It can be said with impurity that if the Pathans and Balochs had not turned Muslims or entered India proper in pre-Islamic period, they would have certainly lost their identity and slipped out of History like so many other communities.

Just consider the Rajputs—the brave, doughty warriors, the flowers of Hindu chivalry who fought like giants, forgave like saints, played with Death like a toy and moved Heaven and Earth for their Honour. Nothing is more preposterous than this claim that they were converted by force. It was the simplicity and accomodating attitude of Islam, its self-sacrificing spirit as embodied in great men like Sheikh Ali Hijweri and others and the humane treatment of the Muslim conquerors which led them to abjure their old faith and accept Islam for good. As Muslims they were perfectly allowed to display their chivalry to its fullest in building up the social pattern of Muslims.

Thus Islam cherished its devotees in West Pakistan. While allowing them to retain their own communal status, it welded them into a larger whole. The divisions in beliefs have not hampered this vital unity due to the unanimity on the oneness of God and final prophethood of Muhammad (Be peace upon Him).

As for languages, they have much in common. Hindko, Western Punjabi and Pakhto have lent to and borrowed from each other freely while Miltani and Bahawalpuri resemble Sindhi. The Western Balochi or Makrani is Persianised while Punjabi is very closely allied with Urdu which was originally born and developed here. These languages will, of course, continue to exist in their respective territories and nothing can stifle them. But it must be remembered that all these languages owe considerably to Arabic and Persian. While Sindhi has a closer contact with Arabic, Pakhto and Western Balochi were nearer to Persian. In fact the Perso-Arabic vocabulary forms the very blood running through the veins of these dialects. Urdu is predominantly Persian in its literary and political aspects and Arabic in its academic and scientific aspects. Though there exists a very dangerous "Lucknowism", "Dehlism" like so many other nefarious 'isms' in our country, yet it is fast embracing the new diction pertaining to the life and people of this region to its bosom as well as acting as a liaison between these territorial languages. Before long, it will have to adjust itself to the environment and make its vocabulary richer with the words from these dialects. We believe Urdu will be easily doing it as it is so elastic. Already it is the lingua-franca of West Pakistan.

Economically also the area is one. The 1500 miles long Indus with its rich eastern and faithful western tributaries, has formed the life-blood of West Pakistan since 3000 B. C. It were the western rivers and rivulets which had fed the earliest known subcultures of Baluchistan but as soon as the domestication of animals and agriculture increased and population grew larger, the people of this area began to depend more and more upon Indus and since then it has transported endless deposits of silt to fertilize our soil. In the modern age, it has built up our magnificent canal system and is the backbone of our newly undertaken projects at Thal, Taunsa and other places. Whether in irrigation or in Innundation it has been serving and affecting the whole of West Pakistan irrespective of the so-called provincial boundaries. It is mysteriously the symbol of West Pakistan Unity.

Industrialization, which has already begun and is gradually increasing, is bound to enhance the importance of the western portion which has been less fruitful in agriculture. All our mountains, purposely neglected by the British, are our great potential power. Their survey has produced marvellous results. Chromite, Petroleum, Iron ore, Sui Gas etc have been discovered so far and, in view of these remarkable finds, we can confidently say that our industrial development will be largely located in these western parts just as agriculture has been mainly concentrated in eastern parts which at the present time contain 66% of the population of West Pakistan. The future, therefore, lies in those parts which have been neglected and backward but expectant. When this industrial consummation takes place, we are sure the western parts will all the more depend upon the eastern parts for foodstuffs and raw materials while the eastern parts will depend upon the western for mechanised agriculture and technical assistance. The artisan classes of the Eastern parts will, of course, readily, move to the Western.

Thus, in due course, we will find that the Western parts have not only been a cradle of West Pakistan races (about 50% of the total population of West Pakistan originally belongs to these parts and includes Brahmuis, Jats, Balochs and Pathans) but are also going to open the flood gates of industry. If we can balance our prospective industry with a mechanised agriculture, we may be the happiest action on the globe.

If we are to survive, and survive we must, we must evolve a scientific society, we must have scientific knowledge and techniques but, most of all, we must rediscover the bonds which have knit us together in the past. The differences in the cultural status can not be removed unless West Pakistan is treated as one Unit and allowed to partake equally and freely in its economic resources. Matthew Arnold was right when he wrote, "The great aim of culture is the aim of setting ourselves to ascertain what perfection is and to make it prevail".¹ But we must, more and more, concentrate on our future. Let us raise ourselves from the bargaining present and, on

1. "The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations", London, 1953, p. 19

the wings of our History and Geography, dive into the future because the Future alone is the grim judge of our creative and constructive energies. I quote the words of Dr. James Hastings, ".....modern Western civilization represents, in an ever-increasing degree, the enfranchisement of the future in the evolutionary process. The efficiency of society, as it grows more and more organic, is, that is to say, becoming more and mor a protected efficiency".¹

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1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*" edited by Dr. James Hastings, Edinburg, 1932, Vol. III, p. 686.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SHARQI KINGDOM OF JAUNPUR

By

Professor M. Shamsuddin, Lahore

The present city of Jaunpur which lies on the Gumti river, thirty-four miles north-west of Benares, has got historical associations of great magnitude. During the fifteenth century this city was a University Town and a leading seat of learning, the "Shiraz of Indo-Pakistan." The historical buildings of this city constitute a fine specimen of Indo-Islamic architecture, and thus from all aspects Jaunpur has a special claim to glory.

This city became the seat of Provincial Government right from the year of its foundation (1359 A.D.). It was in 1559 that the provincial headquarters were shifted to Allahabad. Prior to this the city possessed a strategic importance and served as a base of military operations in Bengal.

As gleaned from *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (of Yahiya bin Ahmad Abdullah Sirhindī) the city of Jaunpur was founded in 1359 A.D. by Emperor Feroze Shah Tughluq when he undertook his second expedition against Sikander Shah of Bengal. He was compelled to stop at Zafarabad (in the valley of river Ganges) due to the heavy downpour of Monsoons. During his stay here in this rainy season, he selected the present site of Jaunpur and laid the foundation of a city which was destined to glory. Considerations military strategy actuated the Emperor to see that the city thrives and so he embellished this and named it Jaunpur, because his cousin, Juna Khan (the previous Emperor Mohd. bin Tughluq) had been a governor of this region in 1321 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Tughluq. After 35 years this city became the capital of an independent dynasty—the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpur. This dynasty had only five kings who had a brilliant but meteoric career lasting from 1394 to 1476 A.D.—just 82 years in all. The court of Sharqi Kings was much renowned for literature and archi-

tectural activity and it was the resort of men of letters who were thrown into object helplessness due to the turmoil left by Taimur's invasion in 1398 A.D.

Rise of the Kingdom: The Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur derived its name from the title of Malik-al-Sharq (Lord of the East) conferred by Sultan Mahmud Tughluq upon his eunuch Malik Sarwar, Khwaja-i-Jahan, who replaced Malik Eshtoze, the first governor of Jaunpur. Consequent upon the death of Sultan Feroze Shah in 1388 the Hindus of the Gangetic Doab and Oudh grew restive and the grip of the throne of Delhi began to dwindle at that time governorship of entire territory from Kanauj to Bihar was entrusted to the eunuch Sarwar, who had risen to the elevated position of Vizier by sheer dint of merit. Sultan Mahmud Tughluq was a great admirer of this eunuch and while sending him as the governor of the "Eastern Province" bestowed on him the high sounding and flattering title "Malik-al-Sharaq".

Mahmud Tughlaq had chosen the right man because the new governor quickly suppressed the rebellions in Etawah, Kol and Kanauj. He subdued the rebellious Hindu chiefs and extended his jurisdiction over the entire territory comprising Tirhoot, Bihar, Bahrach, Dalmau, Sandila, Oudh, Karia and Kanauj. The author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* tells us that the adjoining rulers of Jajnagar and Lukhnauti accepted him as an overlord and thought it expedient to send the tribute to Khwaja Sarwar and not to Delhi.

Taimur's invasion in 1398 wiped away the power of the Tughluqs and so the ambitious eunuch declared his independence and assumed the title of Atabek-i-Azam. The "Lord of the East" therefore became "the King of the East" "Malik-al-Sharq" proved to be a prophetic title and the kingdom came to be known as the Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur, stressing the importance of its capital the city of Jaunpur.

Successors of Sarwar. Atabak-i-Azam died in 1399, entrusting his kingdom to his adopted son, Malik Qaransal, who was the nephew of Sayyid Khizar Khan. He assumed the title of Mubarak Shah Sharqi. After the departure of Taimur, Mallu Iqbal Khan made an abortive attempt to annex the kingdom of Jaunpur in the name of Sultan Mahmud Tughluq who was a puppet in the hands of Mallu Iqbal Khan.

Mubarik died suddenly in 1402 and his brother Shamsuddin Ibrahim ascended the throne.

The most celebrated King. Ibrahim Shah was the greatest of all the Sharqi Kings. He was a cultured prince and a liberal patron of art and learning. To his court flocked all the scholars who could not find a refuge elsewhere in the troubled region of Delhi Sultanate. His favours and bounties to the men of letters knew no bounds and a tremendous volume of eminent works on Theology and Islamic law was produced due to his patronage. Malik-ul-Ulamla—*Qazi Shahab-ud-Din* was the most celebrated of all the scholars at his court. Even Abul Fazl is all praise for the genius of *Qazi Shahabud-Din* who is the author of numerous standard books. Following are some of his works :—

1. known as *Hashiyay-i-Hindi* (حاشیہ هندی) کافیہ
2. *Irshadul Nahv* (ارشاد النحو)
3. *Fatawa-i-Ibrahim Shahi* (فتاویٰ ابراهیم شاہی)
4. *Bahrul Mawwaj* بحر الموج a Tafseer (تفسیر) in Persian.
5. *Manaqab-i-Sadat*. مناقب سادات
6. *Aqidat-ash Shahabia* (عقیدۃ الشہابیہ)

It was during the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi that Jaunpur was embellished with all those monuments the remains of which excite our admiration to this day.

Ibrahim Shah was a shrewd monarch. He did not entangle himself in the wrangle of Mahmud Shah of Delhi and his all-powerful minister Mallu Iqbal Khan. Mahmud Shah of Delhi therefore occupied Kanauj, expelling Ibrahim's governor by a surprise attack. Ibrahim allowed the events to have their course and did not rush to the battle-field; so he returned to Jaunpur. In the meantime, Mallu Iqbal Khan, was slain in a battle by Khizar Khan, the governor of Multan. So Mahmud Tughluq returned to Delhi leaving Malik Mahmud as the governor of Kanauj. Ibrahim Shah attempted to expell the Tughluq governor from Kanauj but had to retire to Jaunpur when the Tughluq Sultan promptly came to

the help of his governor. Finally in 1407 Malik Mahmud (the governor) was forced to surrender. Emboldened by this success, Ibrahim decided to march to Delhi, but the scheme could not materialize due to the reports of the advance of Muzzafar Shah of Gujrat. Ibrahim however annexed Sambhal (east of Ganges).

In 1409 came the news that Raja Ganesh of Bengal was persecuting Muslims and a saint Qutub-ul-Alam, who was greatly respected by the Sharqi king, advised an invasion of Bengal to protect the Muslims. The expedition was still in its initial stages when the Raja waited upon the saint Qutub-ul-Alam and promised to abstain from persecution of Muslims. His son Jaimal (جاں مل) embraced Islam. The saint was satisfied and prevailed upon Ibrahim Shah to retire to Jaunpur.

In 1433 Ibrahim made an unsuccessful attempt to annex the district of Kalpi, which, at that time, was under the sway of Delhi Sultans. By 1414 Sayyid Khizar Khan had become the Sultan at Delhi and at his death in 1421, he had been succeeded by his son, Sultan Mubarik Shah. In 1433 Kalpi was coveted both by Ibrahim of Jaunpur and Hushang Shah of Malwa and the two armies were about to begin hostilities; when Ibrahim had to retire to Jaunpur because Sultan Mubarik Shah was marching towards the city. The assassination of Mubarik removed the danger of attack on Jaunpur but before Ibrahim could go back, Kalpi had fallen to Hushang.

The fourth Ruler. Ibrahim died in 1436 and was succeeded by his son Mahmud Shah Sharqi who picked up hostilities with Mahmud Khilji of Malwa over Kalpi and also over misconduct of Nasir Shah—the fiefholder of Kalpi and a vassal of the King of Malwa. The indecisive campaign closed in 1445 by a peace not altogether honourable to Jaunpur.

In 1452 Mahmud Shah was rash enough to lead an attack upon Delhi which had by this time been captured by Bahlol Lodhi (19th April, 1451). The Queen of Mahmud Shah (Jalila) incited him to capture Delhi because she was the daughter of Sayyid Alaud Din Alam Shah, the last Sayyid king of Delhi and she treated the throne of Delhi as her right by the law of inheritance. The siege of Delhi

was unsuccessful and enhanced the power of Bahlol Lodhi. This rash act ultimately led to the extinction of the Sharqi kingdom because Bahlol realized the menace of Jaunpur and it made him resolve to destroy this independent kingdom. Mahmud Shah Sharqi died in 1457 just as he was about to open hostilities with Bahlol Lodhi once again.

The Last Ruler. Bhikan son of Mahmud Shah styled as Muhammad Shah was Jaunpur's new king. But he was unpalatable to the nobles of the court. So he was dethroned and assassinated and his brother Hussain Shah was made the king of Jaunpur. He concluded a peace with Bahlol Lodhi in 1458 for a period of four years. In fact both of them wanted a breathing time for the consolidation of their respective empires. Hussain Shah was the first to begin hostilities because he captured Etawah. Thus began a series of wars against Bahlol Lodhi. For three years onward from 1473 he strove hard to annex Delhi but he could not grasp the "glittering gold".

In 1476 Bahlol Lodhi led a surprise attack on Jaunpur and completely routed Hussain Shah who had to run to Rapari and then to Gwalior and Kalpi. Finally he was defeated by Bahlol at Kali Nadi (or Raigaon Khaga) and then Bahlol marched directly to Jaunpur and captured it. Hussain Shah fled to Bengal. With his flight the Sharqi dynasty came to an end.

Hussain Shah Sharqi lived for 24 years more in Bengal under the protection of Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah and his successors. He continued fomenting dissensions and rebellions in the south-eastern provinces of the kingdom of Delhi but he could not make a serious attempt to regain his lost kingdom.

Bahlol had made his son Barbak the Governor of Jaunpur and had given him permission to use the royal title and also to issue his own coins. In 1489 Sikander Lodhi absorbed Jaunpur in the kingdom of Delhi by driving his brother Barbak. Hussain Shah, the ex-king died in Bengal in the year 1500 A.D.

Buildings. A few mosques built by the Sharqi kings still exist at Jaunpur as finest specimens of their architectural taste. All other buildings of the Sbarqi period are in ruins—supposed to be ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated by Sikander Lodhi. The existing monuments are the following five mosques :—

1. The Atala Mosque built by Ibrahim Shah in 1408 (foundations being prepared by Feroz Shah 30 years prior to that). This mosque served as a model for all other mosques of Jaunpur.
2. The Khalis Mukhlis Masjid or Dariba Mosque built in 1430 by two nobles of Ibrahim Shah.
3. The Jhangiri Mosque, built the same year—1430, has unfortunately crumbled down and only the central portion of its facade remains.
4. The Lal Darwaza Masjid built in 1450 by the Queen of Mahmud Shah.
5. The Jamiah Masjid. The exact date of its construction is disputable. It can be said that it was erected sometime between 1458 and 1470—during the reign of Hussain Shah, the last of the Sbarqi Kings.

The monuments of Jaunpur reveal the same mingling of Hindu-Muslim architecture which was a special trait of the Dalbi style. The Central Court in the Mosques of Jaunpur, the domed porch, the high platforms on which these buildings stand, the two-storeyed colonnades and the lofty gates—all are clear manifestations of the definite influence of the imperial style of Delhi. But these Mosques of Jaunpur are neither rich in detail nor lavishly ornamented—conceptions of Hindu decorative art. On the other hand the decorations on all the Mosques of Jaunpur are bold and striking (as opposed to minuteness or delicacy). Moreover the Jaunpur School, though an off-shoot of Indo-Muslim architecture, believed in simplicity, serenity and freshness, pointing to the prevailing intellectual atmosphere. Like the fashion of the day,

the site as well as the material of Hindu temples of the vicinity was utilized in the construction work. The Mosques of Jaunpur however possess an other striking feature that this material was never crudely used—on the other hand the previous stones were cut and sculptured afresh.

The most distinctive feature of the Mosques of Jaunpur is that the arched screen over the facade of the prayer-chamber has been converted to a massive and imposing thing as opposed to the Pathan system of giving a mere increase height to the prayer-chamber. The resultant effect is that of imposing grandeur and massiveness.



A CHRONOLOGY OF MUSLIM FAUDARS OF SYLHET

By

Mr. S. M. Ali, Dacca.

Sylhet came under the domination of Muslims when Hazrat Shah Jalal, the patron saint of Sylhet, conquered Raja Gour Govinda, King of Sylhet. It is alleged that one Burhanuddin had sacrificed a cow to celebrate the birth of a son. When this came to the King's notice he caused the new born baby to be killed and the right hand of its father cut off. Burhanuddin sought help of the King of Bengal who sent an army under the command of his nephew Sinkander Khan Ghazi. Hazrat Shah Jalal accompanied the army. The conquest was made by his spiritual force.

The tradition in Sylhet is that Shah Jalal conquered Sylhet during the reign of King Shamsuddin. According to Stewart's *History of Bengal*, Shamsuddin II reigned in Bengal from 1383-85. This statement of Stewart is wrong. It appears that Shamsuddin whose correct name was Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah ruled from 1412-1414 (*History of Bengal*, Vol. II, Dacca University), p. 116. The date of conquest of Sylhet was wrongly given as 1384 for the first time by Mr. Blochman who thought that the saint had come to Sylhet during the reign of Shamsuddin (Shihabuddin) Bayazid Shah. Mr. W.W. Hunter in his Statistical Account of Bengal also gave the same date. Mr. B. C. Allen in this Sylhet District Gazetteer followed Mr. Hunter. But the date of the conquest of Sylhet has finally been settled by the discovery of an inscription now preserved in Dacca Musium. This inscription was discovered by the late Shamsul Ulema Abu Nasr Wahed, M. A. I.E.S. in Amborkhana Mahaila of Sylhet and presented to Dacca Museum. Mr. Stapleton read the inscription (J. A. S. B. 1922, p. 413) as follows :—"In honour of the greatness of the respected Shaikhul Musaikh Shaikh Jalal, the hermit, the son of Muhammad. The first conquest by Islam of the town (Arsah) Srihat was by the hand of Sikandar Khan Ghazi in the time of Sultan Firuz Shah Dehlavi

in the year 703 This building (has been erected by) Rukun Khan, the conqueror of Hasht Gamharyan who being Wazir and General for many months at the time of conquest of Kamru, Kamta, Jainagar and Urisa served in the army in several places in train of the King (written) in the year 918 Another inscription of the year A H 918 in the *Dargah* of Shah Ata at Devokot, Dt Dinajpur mentions the building of a mosque by Rukun Khan who is described as Wazir of the city of Muzaffarahad, Sir Laskar or Kotwal of the city of Firozahad and judge of the criminal court of the same city (*Epi-graphica Indo Muslemica*, 1929 ²⁰, p 12)

Another inscription of Rukun Khan dated 912 A H is preserved in the Zafar Khan Mosque *Tribeni* (E I M, pp 12-13, 1915-16) In it Rukun Khan is referred to as commander of the out post of Laobala and the town of Hadigarh The tomb of Alauddin, father of Rukun Khan, is still to be seen at Sylhet

It is clear that some Muslims were in Sylhet before the arrival of Shah Jalal But nothing is known as to when they came to Sylhet first There is a tradition in Sylhet that some notables migrated to Sylhet during the reign of Slave Kings of Delhi on account of oppression Burhanuddin might be the descendant of one of these notables

After the conquest Shah Jalal appointed Syed Nasiruddin Sipahasalar, who had accompanied the saint to Sylhet, its first Governor According to tradition Haider Ghazi was the next Governor of Sylhet It is not known as to who were the successors of Haider Ghazi

It appears from an inscription preserved in the *Dargah* of Shah Jalal that a *Dastur* (Minister) named *Majlis* had in 1472 erected a Mosque in Chaukidighi *Mohallah* of Sylhet on the model of the Adina Mosque at Panduah This mosque was destroyed under orders of Isfandiar Khan, a subsequent Nawab of Sylhet, because the Imam had not waited for the Nawab before saying *Eid* prayers It is quite possible that Majlis was the defacto ruler of Sylhet

It appears from an inscription in the Khowjah mosque in *mouza* Gaigarh near Maulibazar town that Majlis Alam, who is described as a minister, had built the mosque in 1476 It is quite possible that

Majlis Alam is the same person who had built the Mosque at Chaukidighi only 4 years earlier

It appears from an inscription preserved at Tilapara in *pargana* Mukhtarpur that a Minister named Malik Sikander had built the Mosque in 1479.

We have already referred to Rukun Khan, general of Hussain Shah who had built a Mosque in Sylhet in 1511. His father's name was Alauddin. Probably when he retired from active military service he was appointed to rule over his home district (Sylhet). It is said that Gawher Khan Aswari, after whom Gawherpur *pargana* is named, was the successor of Rukun Khan, but the exact period during which he exercised sway over Sylhet is not known. It appears from an inscription in the mosque in the compound of Shah Ahmadullah in Daudnagar that Khawas Khan who was Governor of Iqlim Muazzamabad built the mosque in A. H. 919. Syed Alauddin Hussain Shah had left Muazzamabad which consisted of the eastern part of Mymensingh and western part of Sylhet district, incharge of Khawas Khan. Khawas Khan had built another mosque in Mymensingh in 919 A. H. (1513 A. D.) vide J. A. S. B. 1872—article by D Blochman).

It appears from the history of Assam that Sukladwaj alias Chilarai, brother of Koch King Narayan, conquered Sylhet in 1553. The name of the King of Sylhet is not mentioned. It is doubtful if Sukladwaj really conquered Sylhet.

Amar Manikya, king of Tripura (1577-86), had dug a big tank in his capital. He asked his subordinate chiefs to contribute labour. As the ruler of Taraf, who was subordinate to King of Tipperah, defied his orders, Amar Manikya is said to have attacked Taraf and conquered it.

According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, Sylhet was divided into 8 *parganas* namely Sylhet town, Protapgarh (including Panchakhanda), Baniachong, Laur, Harinagor, Baju, Jaintia and Sarail. As Jaintia was at that time ruled by a line of independent Kings probably Jaintia of *Ain-i-Akbari* comprised of Uttarkach and Dakshin Kach parganas which were formerly parts of Jaintia. Sarail formed a part of Sylhet till the

the days of Aurangzeb Amongst the products of Sylhet *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions Khojas (eunuchs), Slaves, oranges, timber and two kinds of Singing birds named Sherganj and Bihangraj Todar Mall in 1582 assessed the revenue of Sylhet at Rs. 1,67,040.

During Akbar's time Sylhet was really under the control of rebellious Pathan Chiefs. Usman, nephew and successor of Qatlu Khan Lohani Afghan King of Orissa, on being driven out from Orissa had taken shelter at Bokainagor in Mymensingh. He was driven out from there in October 1611 by Shaikh Kamal, the commander sent out by Islam Khan. Usman then left Bokainagor and went to Sylhet where he defeated Subidnarayan, Raja of Rajnagar. Usman then established himself at Uhar which has been identified to be Pathan uhar in Moulyibazar Sub-division. Usman made alliance with Bayazid Karmani, a Pathan chief who virtually ruled Eastern part of Sylhet at that time with his headquarters at Protapgarh. Usman was supported by Anwar Khan, Zamindar of Baniachong and Pahalwan Zamindar of Matang (which has been identified with Sitang in Taraf). Islam Khan then sent two large forces against Bayazid and Usman. The army against Bayazid was led by Shaikh Kamal and the army against Usman was led by Shujat Khan. Shujat Khan's army first captured the fort at Taraf which was under the command of Usman's son and brother. The army then passed by Potijuri to Hailhaar where a great battle was fought in some marshy land near Dawalambapur (identified with Dullabpur in Chowallis pargana). Usman showed great bravery and was on the point of winning the day when a spear accidentally stuck his eyes and killed him. The death of Usman demoralised the Pathan forces who escaped at night to Uhar with the dead body of Usman. Usman's brothers, sons and other Afghan chiefs then surrendered to Shujat Khan. In the battle against Shaikh Kamal Bayazid's army had met with success in the beginning. But when the news of defeat and death of Usman reached them they had no other alternative but to surrender. These events took place in 1612. With the defeat of Usman and Bayazid Sylhet for the first time came under the sway of Mughal Emperor. Detailed accounts of these expeditions are given in *Baharistan Ghjabi* edited by Dr. M. I. Borah and published by Assam Government. Late Mr. A. Sattar of Shillong also wrote an

account of Usman's life named Banger Shes Bir based on *Baharistan*. Ishan Chandra Roy Choudhuri has written some articles on Usman in *Shrihatta Sahitya Parishat Patrika* for 1347 B. S.

After defeat of Bayazid and Usman, Ludi Khan is said to have been appointed *Amil* of Sylhet. After Ludikhan his son Jahan Khan was appointed *Amil*. Jahan Khan was a minor and Basudas and Rajendra, Tehsildars of Taraf, were appointed to assist him. The exact year when Ludi Khan and Jahan Khan were in power is not known. Village Jahanpur is named after Jahan Khan.

Muhammad Zaman *Amil* of Sylhet during the latter part of the reign of Jahangir. He continued in office during the reign of Shah Jahan also. In 1627 Islam Khan invaded Assam and penetrated upto Hajo. Md. Zaman, Foujdar of Sylhet, had joined the expedition and played an active part. He was rewarded with the command of 2000 men (J. A. S. B. 1872). It appears from the history of Kuch Bihar by Khan Choudhury Amanatullah Ahamed that Md. Zaman continued to be Foujdar of Sylhet upto 1637. Md. Zaman was a *Mansabdar*, of 2,000 Suwar. Nathan calls him Md. Zaman Karori. Blochman identifies him as Tuyaldar of Sylhet.

There is a record in Sylhet district Record Room showing grant of 50 bighas of land as *cheraghi* to Alam Tarib in 1067 A. H. (1657 A. D.) by Sultan Shuja, Governor of Bengal.

There is no trace as to who were Foujdars of Sylhet after Md. Zaman. The next Foujdar about whom records are available is Lutfullah Khan. Before coming to Sylhet he was Foujdar of Gauhati and had built the mosque at Hajo in 1657. The mosque is situated on the top of a very high hillock commanding a fine view of the country side. In 1660 he erected the enclosure round the *Dargah* of Hazrat Shah Jalal in Sylhet. In 1663 A. D. he granted some land to Raghunath Bisharad of Ita. After the conquest of Gauhati by Ahoms Lutfullah Shirazi had run away to Dacca. He was later appointed Foujdar of Sylhet.

Isfindiar Khan was the successor of Lutfullah Shirazi. He appears to have been a man of very hot temper. The mosque built at Chaukidighi by Majlis on the model of Adina mosque at Pandua was

destroyed under his orders as the *Imam* had not waited for him before saying the I'd prayers. He had later tried to build a mosque on the model of the mosque destroyed by him. The incomplete mosque is still to be seen near the gateway of the *Dargah* of Hazrat Shah Jalal at Sylhet. He may be the same person as Isfindiar Beg who was left in charge of Coochbehar after its conquest by Mir Jumla in 1662. Isfindiar Beg and his officers were very greedy and oppressed the people. Prannayan then came down and turned out Isfindiar Beg. It appears from a *sanad* in possession of Dhar Choudhuri's Pailgaon that Isfindiar Beg had held revenue enquiries in Sylhet in 1658.

The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Syed Ibrahim Khan. He granted 11½ hals of land in Parganas Ita and Alinagar to Mohesh Bhattacharyya in 1665 A.D.

The next Nawab of Sylhet was Jan Md. Khan. He granted some land by a *sanad* dated 1667.

The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Mahafata Khan. In 1670 he granted 3½ hals of land to Raghunath Bisborad to whom land had been granted by Lutfullah Shirazi on an earlier date.

The next Foujdar of Sylhet is Farhad Khan. He is well-known for having constructed the bridge over Gualichorra in the outskirts of Sylhet town and some mosques. The bridge inscription has been deciphered to be of the date 1098 A.H. (1688 A.D.) by Mr. Ali Ahmad (vide *Journal of Assam Research Society*, Vol. VII, p 26). Farhad Khan has been described as *Nizamul Jamana*. In 1670 he gifted 27½ bals of land in *parganas* Kauria and Atuanjan to Md. Najat of Sylhet town. In 1678 he made a gift of 5½ hals of land to Ratneswar Chakrabarti of Langla. He built the big mosque in *Dargah* of Shah Jalal in 1678. He also built the mosque in *Mohalla* Raihusain (Rai Nagar) in 1684 A.D. The ruins of another mosque built by Farhad Khan is still to be seen west of Sylhet Police lines.

There were some *noib Foujdars* under Farhad who also had made gifts of land. Nawab Syed Md. Ali Khan Kaimjung made gift of some land in 1680 to Jamabuksb Faqir of Chawallis, Ramshanker Bhattacharjee of Sbamshernagor, Kalikanta Cbahra city of Panchakhand,

Gangadhar Sarma of Baniyachaong and Ram Chandra Chakraberty of Pathariya. Nowab Nasrullah Khan made a gift of some land in *Pargana* Chawallis in 1683 to Pandit Ramgovinda Bhattacharjee. Nowab Abdur Rahman Khan was Naib Foujdar in 1685.

The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Sadaq Khan. There is record of a land grant by him in 1688. The next Nawab of Sylhet was Enayet Ullah Khan after whom Enayetganj is named. In 1692 he gifted some land to Ramjiban Choudhury of Pargana Baurbhag. The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Kaktalab Khan Bijapuri. The next Nawab of Sylhet was Ahmed Majid. He gifted some land to Bharat Das Baisna of Dulali in 1699. The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Kargujer Khan who had gifted some land in 1703. In 1706 he gifted some land to Kamalakanta Bhattacharjee of Ita. The next Nawab of Sylhet was Motiullah Khan. He was son of Nathullah who was Subahdar of Coochbehar and Rangamati. He had exchanged correspondence with Barphukan of Ahom King Rudra Singha posted at Gauhati on the occasion of occupation of Jaintia by the Ahoms and capture of Ram Singha, Jaintia King. The correspondence is dated 1707 and mentions that Motiullah had recently ascended office. The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Rahmat Khan who was holding office in 1709. Rahmat Khan's successor was Tanib Ali Khan who held office during the reign of emperor Farukshiyar (1713-19). It appears from a *sanad* in the possession of *Mufti* family of Sylhet that Sujauddin Muhammad Khan Asadganj was Foujdar of Sylhet in A.H. 1311 (1719). The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Sukurullah. He was dismissed and replaced by Nawab Harkrishna Das *Munsurul-Mulk* in 1721. He was the founder of the Dastidar family of Sylhet. There are a large number of *sanads* in Sylhet Collectorate showing grant of land by him. He was Foujdar of Sylhet from 1721 to 1723 in which year he was treacherously murdered by one of his bodyguards. It is alleged that the murderer was instigated by Sukur Ullah, the dismissed Nowab. After the murder of Harekrishna the foujdarship was held jointly for one year by Nowab Sadeq Ullah Khan, who was Naib Foujdar under Nowab Harkissen, Dewan Manikchand Rai and Hardayal, who was commander of the Army. The Seal of Fouzdar of this period is inscribed with the formula Sadekul Harmanik. In 1722 Murshid Kuli

Khan get a new account of revenue made. It was called Jama Kamel Tumari. Chakla Sylhet consisted of Sylhet, Sarail, Juanshahi and other parganas yielding a revenue of Rs. 53,145 for 148 parganas. Sukurullah, however, got back his Foujdaanship in 1724. Hamid Khan Qureshi had successfully lead the Mughal army against Rahim Afghan and defeated and killed him in the battle of Chandrekana in August, 1698. As a reward Hamid Khan was given the title of Shamsher Khan Bahadur. He held office at Sylhet till 1728. During his time Nowab Sujauddin got Goswara or Revenue account prerared in 1728.; According to this revenue paid from 36 parganas of Sylhet amounted to Rs. 70,016. This was exclusive of the following jagirs :—

1. Amle Nawna for which Sarail, Juanshahi and Taraf made contributions.
2. Amle Assam for protection of Assam border.
3. Kheda-afil for catching elephants etc.

There were six Naib Foujdars under Shamsher Khan. They were :—

1. Shujauddin Khan who made gift of land to Radakanta Bhattacharjee of Patharia in 1729.
2. Basharat Khan. There is a *Sanad* under his seal dated 1731.
3. Syed Rafiullah Hasni. There is a *Sanad* dated 1733 under his seal. Pargana Rafinagor takes its name from him.
4. Ahul Husa Musvi alias Muhammad Hason. There are *Sanads* of 1732, 1734, 1735, 1736 and 1737 under his name.
5. Meer Aliyar Khan. There is a *Sanad* of 1735 under his name.
6. Ghalibyar Khan (1732).

Nawab Shamsher Khan joined Nawab Sarfaraz Khan with his armed forces and went to the hattle at Giriya where he was killed in 1740.

Bahram Khan was the successor of Shamsher Khan. He built the big mosque in the *Dargah* of Hazrat Shah Jalal in 1744. Md. Jan was Naib Foujdar under him. He gifted some land to Harballav Bhattacharjee of Shamshernaghari in 1742.

The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Allkuli Beg after whom village Alikulipur near Badarpur is named. His seal is inscribed in a *Sanad* dated 1748.

It appears from a *Sanad* preserved in the *Mufti* family of Sylhet that Naib Ali Khan was Foujdar of Sylhet in 1749-50. He granted 15 hals of land to Gangaram Siromani of Burunga in 1750. In 1748 he granted some land to Kamala Kanta Bhattacharjee of Lauta. In the same year he also granted 10 hals of land to Ram Chandra Bidyabagish of Dinajpur.

Haji Hossain Khan succeeded Najibullah in 1751 in which year he granted some land to Hirandra Chakrabarty of Patharia.

The next Foujdar of Sylhet was Nawajish Md. His Naib Achol Singh granted some land to a man of *pargana* Bejura in 1753.

The next Foujdar was Ekramullah Khan. In 1760 he granted some land to Manikram Aditya of Chotalekha. In 1762 he granted some land to Nandram Pandit of Dauadig. The next Foujdar was Meer Ali Yar Khan who according to an inscription in the Dargah of Hazrat Shah Jalal was in office in 1763. The next Foujdar was Nasirul Mulk who gifted some land to Hariram and Abhirab Barman of Bhadikira in 1763 and 1764.

The next Foujdar was Muhammad Ali Khan Kayimjang. He gifted some land to Ramram Bhattacharjee of Patharia in 1764. He gifted some land the same year to the Head of the *Mufti* family of Sylhet. He also made gift of some land to Harisanker Bidyalanker of Sylhet town in 1768. The same year he also gifted some land to Parasuram Pandit of Dhakadakshin.

The next Foujdar Bikhukhay gifted some land in *pargana* Kauria to Ganesh Siromani of Akhalia in 1773. Nowab Haider Ali Khan was in power in 1778.

The next Foujdar Azda Khan gifted some land to Ramballab Acharjee of Dulali in 1785. Nowab Mubarak Daula was in power in 1788.

Nawab Etesam Khan, the next Foujdar, gifted some land to Sukdev Chakrabarty of Langla in 1792. Pargana Etesamnagar is named after him.

The next Foujdar was Mir. Md. Hadi who granted some land in Panchakhanda to Ratiram Chakrabarty in 1810.

He is the last Foujdar under whose authority there was grant of land. His successors appear to have been Foujdars only in name without much authority. They were Sadaqat Ali Khan (Naib Foujdar) 1806, Abu Turab Khan, Kasem Khan and Ganer Khan. Ganer Khan was the last Foujdar of Sylhet. He was holding office in 1825. The successors of Mir Md. Hadi were Foujdars in name only as all the powers of Government were being exercised by the Collectors appointed by the East India Company.

Sultan Mahmud's Principles of Government

by

Dr. M. Abdul Qader, Comilla

There is a story that an owl told its prospective matrimonial who had pressed for some deserted village as the dowry for the bride that there was no dearth of the same in the realm of Sultan Mahmud of Gazna. The following discussion about his government will show that it is nothing but a fable invented to discredit him.

Like the dictators of modern age Sultan Mahmud was a despot, though in a lesser degree. He had a Council to give him advice which, however, he was not bound to accept. The only constitutional check upon him was that of the *Ulama* whom even a man like Salim the Grim could not disregard. Under despotic rule the stability of the throne depends mainly upon personal capacity. Hence Mahmud knew no rest. His was a life full of hard, untiring labour. He used to inspect every department of state and punish the offenders. He repeatedly travelled throughout his vast dominions to obtain firsthand information about the relation of the governors and the governed. His watchful eyes made the officers more dutiful. His incessant, strenuous industry enabled him to maintain peace and order in the empire and keep the arrogant nobles in check.

Constantly engaged in military campaigns. Mahmud had to depend to a large extent upon his Chief Minister and other officers for running civil administration. He showed extra-ordinary fore-sight and ability in selecting right men. His nominees rose to high positions in the end. The executive officers of the Sultan were as capable and industrious as their military brethren.

Government service was not the monopoly of any particular creed, nation or community. But tactful, industrious and well-educated, the Persians usually predominated. Merit was the sole criterion for appointment and promotion. Even a petty clerk could aspire to premiership.

Mahmud himself was the Commander-in-Chief and Supreme Judge. He controlled foreign policy and appointed high officials. The minor appointments were made by the Ministers in charge of War, News, Home, Revenue and Civil Intelligence departments.

The Sultan had to enter into a contract with the minister at the time of his appointment. While the latter swore fidelity, the former promised non-interference into certain actions of the minister.

For the collection of revenue the Premier appointed *Amirs* in different provinces with *Sahib-i-Dewan* at their head. The tenants could pay either in cash or kind. The corn and animals collected as rent were stored at different places. While travelling, the Sultan appropriated the same to his use or spent in aid of the distressed during famine. The surplus revenue of the provinces was despatched to the central treasury. Accountant-General was in charge of all receipts and disbursements. When there was a failure of crop or plunder by enemy, the tenants usually got remission of rent besides agricultural loan. In revenue matters the Vezir was the supreme court.

The most of the Premier was extremely perilous. The more loyal and capable he was, the more did the ambitious *Amirs* resolve on his fall. It was not always possible for the Sultan to get rid of their conspiracy. Hence persecution was almost the unavoidable lot of the Vezir.

In 995 A.D. Mahmud appointed Fazal, *Sahib-i-Barid* of Merv as his minister. He was promoted Vezir after the accession of his master to the throne. Though not well-educated, he had extraordinary ability in administrative affairs and managed the government of the growing empire with great success. Accused of extortion in 1010 A.D., he did not defend himself. This kindled the wrath of Mahmud who threw him into prison where he died that very year.

The successor of Fazal was Ahmad-bin-Hasan, foster-brother and class mate of the Sultan. Together they grew up, together they worked. A great scholar, Ahmad had vast experience in administration. Unaided by a strong Vezir like him the victorious campaigns of the Sultan would have been difficult, if not impossible. Jealous of his boundless influence and chafing under his iron rule his subordinates formed a conspiracy to oust him. He was accordingly

deposed and sent to Kalanjar—the Andamans of those days. After the father's death Masud brought him back and re-instated him to his previous position.

The next Vezir of Mahmud was Abu Ali Hasan, better known as Hasnak. A state-servant from boyhood, Hasan became a great favourite of his master and managed to retain his dignified position until the latter's death. While returning from pilgrimage he was honoured with a *Khil'at* by the Fatimid Khalifa Az-Zahir. This made him a suspect in the eyes of the rival Khalifa of Bagdad who demanded his execution. The Sultan saved the Vezir from the Abbasid's wrath by sending the *Khil'at* to him.

The department of War was in charge of the General of the army. In military affairs the Sultan used to consult the War-Minister who was called the *Arid*. As the infantry could not keep pace with the horse in rapid marches, he employed as few foot as possible. Besides provincial militia and contingents supplied by the tributaries, the regular army did not probably exceed a lac in peace time. The number, of course, swelled much where war broke out.

Lest a particular nation should get upper hand, Mahmud admitted all people including Arabs, Persians, Indians, Gaurians, Afghans and Khorasanis into his army. He had 4000 body-guards and an elephant corps of 1700. The formers were mostly slaves and the elephant-drivers Hindus. These two important branches of the army were under his direct supervision. Victory in many a doubtful battle at the most critical moment was the result. Well trained and well-equipped, his army was the finest of the day. Merit and ability were the only passport to promotion here as in civil department. A mere soldier could gradually aspire to generalship.

The Sultan maintained a huge intelligence department where admission was open to males and females alike. They used to keep watch over the foreign courts and principal officers of the crown, nay even the princes themselves. The important informations gathered by them were despatched to the Sultan through *Sahib-i-Barid* or Post-master. Usually horsemen carried the post. But when there was suspicion of interception, they were replaced by the spies of *Sahib-i-Barid* who

moved in the guise of *sufis*, travellers or merchants concealing the letters within their shoes, saddles, garments or hollow umbrellas and sticks

For administration of justice there was a *Qazi* or Judge in every city and above them a *Qazi ul Quzzat* or Chief Justice in every province. There were no lawyers to puzzle their brain. They heard the parties themselves and passed necessary orders after careful consideration of the record. Unlike us people were not then required to purchase justice by paying Court fees and making lots of other payments which have now practically put it beyond the reach of the poor. Nor was there any undue interference with the decision of the *Qazis* by police or superior officers. The law was also not so intricate as ours to-day.

Mahmud selected his *Qazis* only from the renowned *Musuls* and *Faqils* of unquestionable integrity. He formed the supreme court of appeal and used to hold his court punctually every day. Any person could approach him with his grievances which he tried his level best to redress. Besides him and the *Qazis* the princes, ministers and principal officers also used to administer justice in their respective departments.

Kotwal was the chief military officer in the town which invariably contained a citadel. *Muhtasibs* used to look after the purity of food stuffs, weight of goods and morality of the people. In all matters of importance government officers and leading citizens were consulted and their advice acted upon. Herein we find the germs of modern municipal administration.

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA

by

Mr. Ibrahim Noor, Karachi.

The sixth century B. C. was an age of inquiry and investigations in the history of mankind. Human mind, after having spent a long period of childhood, had reached the stage of adolescence and was asking the most difficult questions about life and its various problems. There was a universal awakening out of the old traditions of kingship, priesthood and blood-sacrifices. Man's mind was displaying a new boldness everywhere. In Greece, it was the time of Pythagorus, who was giving a new philosophy to this rising world. It was also the time of Heraclitus, who was solving the problems of metaphysics at Ephesus in modern Turkey. In China, Confucius was teaching his "noble conduct" to the kings and princes of his country. The Jewish prophet Isaiah was prophesying for: "righteousness on this earth" in his captivity at Babylon. In India, it was the time of Gautama Buddha who challenged the authority of the arrogant Brahmins and their knowledge of the Vedas and preached his simple gospel of truth to the common man of the country.

Buddha was born in the year 566 B. C. in a royal family of Kapilavastu, the capital of a small state, occupying the territory which now lies between the river Rapti and the Himalayas to the north of the present Basti district of the United Provinces of India, on the border of Nepal. His father Siddhudana belonged to the Sakya clan of the Surriyavansi dynesty of Kosala and in this way was a descendent of Rama the eldest son of Raja Dasratha of Ajodhya and his mother Maha Maya was the daughter of Superabuddha, the raja of the Koli tribe, who ruled in a city called Devadeh, not very far from Kapilavastu.

When the day of Buddha's birth was near, his mother desired to go to her parents. Arrangements were made accordingly and

seated in a palanquin and protected by a royal guard, she started for Devadeh, the capital of her father. When she reached the royal gardens at Lumbini half-way between Kapilavastu and Devadeh, she desired to take rest. It was the beginning of summer and the Lumbini gardens, situated on the bank of a little stream, were at their full bloom. The trees were covered with beautiful flowers and the birds were singing sweet song. Maha Maya was tired. She liked the place very much and prolonged her stay there. Then suddenly she felt that her time to bear the child had come and at the full moon evening in the month of Vaisakha, on a Friday, she gave birth to her first born son. In the midst of rejoicings, she was brought back to Kapilavastu. The King was beside himself with joy for a son was born to him in his old age. He was named Siddharatha—the Promotor of Welfare and Merits of Mankind, by his father and the birth of an heir to the throne of Kapilavastu was announced throughout the kingdom. Alms were given to the poor and gifts were distributed amongst the nobles. But Siddhudana's joy was short-lived. Maha Maya was taken ill and died after seven days of the child's birth. The little prince was put under the care of a younger sister of Maha Maya named Prajapati Gautami whom the king married afterwards.

Siddhartha began to grow up amidst the luxuries of the palace. Being a child of long desires and earnest prayers of his parents, he was brought up with every care for his comfort and ease. Prajapati Gautami who was a talented woman and loved him very much, gave him good education. At the age of seven, he was put under the tutorship of a Brahmin named Vishvamitra who taught him the elementary knowledge befitting a prince of those times. When he grew up, his uncle Suleba taught him how to manage the elephants and the horses and another teacher named Shehdeva made him perfect in the art of archery.

But with all this Siddhartha was a boy of reflective nature. He was inquisitive and thoughtful from his very childhood. The life of the common man in Kapilavastu in those days was not a happy one. There was a wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled. The rich were leading a luxuriant life while majority of the population

was suffering from poverty and starvation. Many a time, while coming back from his hunting campaigns or other pastime games which were so common amongst the ruling princes of his time, Siddhartha came across tragic scenes of dying men suffering from want, disease and old age. There were famines in the country and he saw men, women and children, half-naked begging for a morsel of food in the streets of Kapilavastu. Sometimes the pestilence visited the country and hundreds of them died in a few days' time before his very eyes. Such distressing scenes and sorrowful happenings in the daily life of Kapilavastu made a deep impression on the mind of the young prince and he began to think that the real service to mankind for him was not holidaying in his palace like that, but to find a way out of these miseries and sorrows of life. With this a great discontent fell upon him with his own life and Siddhartha who was so fond of hunttings, wrestling, chariot-racing, horsemanship and bending the bow, suddenly began to loose his interest in these things. He began to shun the company of his happy-go-lucky companions and was often found lost in deep thoughts. His father who wanted to make him a great warrior in the traditions of a Kshatriya, was much disturbed when he came to know about the ideas of his son and provided all sorts of entertainments for him to turn his thoughts to the worldly affairs. At the age of eighteen he was married to a beautiful princess named Yashodhara who was a niece of his mother Maha Maya. But this did not bring any change in the mind of the Prince and he became more and more serious about his questions of suffering and its cure. At the age of 29 when he was sitting under a tree in deep meditation, news was brought to him that he was blessed with a son. "This is another chain to break," he said to himself and he gave his son the name Rahula which means 'the chain'.

Siddhartha became restless now. He was in search of a solution that should rid the suffering humanity from all the troubles and miseries of life and this he could not do as long as he was to remain busy with his palace life. So he decided to renounce his princely life and make himself free from all its cares to find an answer to his all absorbing questions about suffering and its causes. And one fine night in the beginning of summer, when full moon was shining in the cloudless

sky and everybody in the palace was enjoying fast sleep, Siddhartha suddenly rose from his chamber, "like a man who is told that his house is on fire" and set off from the palace with his favourite chariot driver Channa. Before leaving his house for good, he felt a strong desire to see his wife and bid her farewell. He went to the door of her chamber where she was sleeping sweetly on a bed decked with flowers, by the light of a small oil lamp with her little son in her arms. The Prince desired to wake her up for a last kiss but the idea of her preventing him to leave her like that, held him back. He turned back quietly without disturbing her and rode out into the world in search of truth and happiness.

He rode very far that night and at day break found himself out of his father's territory. There he got down from his chariot by the side of a sandy beach of a small stream called Anauma—a tributary of the river Gogra nowadays, and began to take off his princely dress and costly ornaments. Channa thought that the Prince wanted to take a bath. But the very next moment Siddhartha took his sword from his side and cut off his long flowing hair as the Kyshatriyas used to wear in those days. Channa was surprised to see this and asked the Prince what he had done. Siddhartha, then opened his mind and told him that he had decided to renounce the world to find a way out of the miseries and sorrows of life. The good old servant, who had heard all sorts of stories about the ideas of the Prince from the people of Kapilavastu but did not expect this to happen so suddenly, began to cry and falling upon his knees, he begged him not to do this. "The old king, your father will die of this grief", He said. "Prajapati—your aunt who loves you so much, will not be able to survive this shock. What will happen to poor Yashodhara—your wife. She will go mad at this news. How have you decided to leave innocent Rahula—your son, not to see him any more." But Siddhartha made no reply. He raised the chariot driver from the ground and handing him over his sword, princely dress and costly ornaments which he had just taken off from his person, asked him to go back to his father and tell him what he had seen. The good old servant, however, did not like to leave his young noble master and requested him to take him along with him and give him the opportunity to continue serving him. But Siddhartha urged

him to go back to his father and serve him as he had served him in the past. The old chariot-driver with his eyes full of tears then left the Prince and came back to Kapilavastu with the empty chariot to tell the sad story to the aged king and the Prince, in the garments of a mendicant, entered the lonely jungles of Magadha to launch a severe battle against the sufferings and miseries of this world.

He first came to a mango grove near a village called Anupiya and spent sometime there. At mid-day he felt hungry and went to the village to beg his food. After collecting his food from door to door in his bowl, he came back to the mango grove to take it. Accustomed to live sumptuously and feed on the most delicious things in his life his eyes could not bear the sight of that loathsome mixture of the coarsest particles of food in his bowl and felt disgusted. But very soon he recovered from this shock. His food for him was no longer to please his appetite but to meet the wants of nature as the clothes which he was wearing at that time, were not to satisfy his vanity but to cover his nakedness. He got fresh strength with this ; subdued the opposition of his self and overcame its repugnance. He then, took up his bowl and ate cheerfully what he had collected from different houses.

After spending seven days of meditation in the mango grove, he went to a teacher named Alara Kalama—a renowned philosopher of the time, who lived in the jungles near Vaisali and became his disciple. Alara Kalama was a follower of Kapila—the founder of the Sankhya system which seeks higher knowledge through controlling of the senses and lays much stress on Atma or soul. This system, probably was not unknown in Kapilavastu, which seems to have some associations with Kapila. It is perhaps for this reason that Siddhartha first chose Alara Kalama to be his teacher. He lived with him for some time but soon found out that he was not satisfied with his teachings and left him. Then he went to another teacher named Udarka Ramaputra who was a believer in the philosophy of *Karma*. Siddhartha spent sometime with him but eventually left him also. For some time he wandered about in the country and devoted himself to meditation on the instability and nothingness of all that exists. Then thinking that the real cause of suffering was the desires of the flesh, he gave

himself up to the mortification of his body and undertook severe fastings and terrible penances to subjugate these desires. The beautiful gold colour of his face was changed into that of an old rusty iron, his smooth youthful skin looked like the rugged bark of an old tree and his strong healthy body was reduced to a mere skeleton of bones. After a long course in this direction, he found out that that was also not the right way to achieve real happiness. And at Uruvela seven miles south of Budh Gaya, he broke his long kept fast by accepting the food of milk and rice from the hands of a girl named Shajita who was the daughter of the headman of the village Senani. Five men, who had earlier, seeing his zeal in fasting and self-torturing, entered into his discipleship, were horrified when they saw their master taking food and refusing to continue the mortification of his body any longer. They thought that something had gone wrong with him and left him in disappointment.

Siddhartha then retired into jungles and at Budh Gaya he took a handful of grass from a grass-seller and making his seat under a banyan tree by the side of the Niranjana stream, entered into deep meditation and remained in profoundest thought for seven days and seven nights. During this time he is said to have attained the four stages of trance, acquired the memory of his past births, knowledge of the destinies of human beings and destruction of all corruptions. It was the full moon evening of the month of Viasakha when the way to salvation dawned upon him like a flash of light and he then rose from his place to impart his vision of truth to the world.

Thenceforward, Siddhartha became the Buddha or the Enlightened One. From his father's side he belonged to the Saka clan and for this reason he is called the Saka Muni or the Sage of the Sakas in most of the Buddhist countries. In the history of the Indo Pakistan sub-continent, however, he is called Gautama Buddha because his ancestors were the followers of Gautama—an ancient Hindu philosopher.

After his enlightenment Buddha desired to go to his teacher Alara Kalama to tell him what he had discovered. But, reaching his hermitage he came to know that the old man had died a few days back. He then wished to find out his five lost disciples and was told that they

had gone to Benares. So he set off for Benares. Oudh his way to that city, a mendicant named Upaka, who knew him, met him and asked him where he was going to. "I am going to Benares," said Buddha "to set the Wheel of *Dharma* in motion". "Go ahead", said Upaka, "You are victorious". From that day, the Wheel of *Dharma* was set in motion. He came to Benares and gave his first sermon in the King's Deer Park, a place now called the Holy *Isipatana* in Sarnath near Benares, where his disciples were staying. At first they refused to listen to him because he had abandoned the life of austerity which was considered to be an essential thing to achieve higher knowledge, in those days. Buddha addressed them and said.

"The two extreme, Monks, are not to be practised by one who has given up the world for the sake of truth and happiness. What are these two extremes ? The one which is devoted to lust and pleasure of the senses is base, vulgar, ignoble and unprofitable and the other devoted to bodily tortures and self-mortification, is painful, equally ignoble and unprofitable. By avoiding these two extremes, Monks, Tathagata has attained the enlightenment of the Middle Path, which produces insight and knowledge and conduces tranquility and happiness."

Preaching about his philosophy of misery and sorrow of this world he said, "Brethren, life in this world is full of pain. Birth is pain, old age is pain; sickness is pain; death is pain; union with unpleasant things is pain and separation from pleasant things is pain; unable to achieve what one desires is pain and obtaining what one does not wish to have is pain. In short, the five fold bond which unites a man to this earth, is all suffering and pain."

Speaking about the cause of pain he said, "Brethren, the origin of all suffering is the Desire. Craving for selfish motives which give rise to delight and passion and to rejoice in them by finding them here and there through worldly things and to gain power and authority to achieve them, is the real cause of suffering and pain in this world.

"To achieve real happiness, therefore, this Desire or thirst must be eliminated by total destruction of all such inclinations towards selfishness and self-centredness. Self is a prison in which the desire rules. Battle against this self, break this prison, hunt these desires from their dungeons and destroy them as your greatest enemy,

"And this Brethren, is the noble truth about the path that leads to cessation of suffering and pain in this world. This is the noble Eightfold path which consists of :

1. Right Belief.
2. Right Views.
3. Right Speech.
4. Right Actions.
5. Right Means of Livelihood.
6. Right Endeavour.
7. Right Rememberance.
8. Right Meditation.

"These are the Four Great Truths. He who seeks Deliverance, must believe and practise them. Light shall not descend on anyone who is not convinced of these Truths".

After the canvassing of five days, Buddha was able to win over his disciples. They acknowledged him their teacher once more and requested him to stay with them for sometime. Very soon his presence was made known to the people of Benares and they flocked together to have a glance at the Prince-Preacher and listen to his wonderful teachings. To those, who came to him, he pronounced, "Come to me. I preach a doctrine which leads to deliverance from all the miseries and sorrows attending life."

It was a very bold claim in the land of devoted sages and learned teachers. There were many who could invite the care-free to the peace of mind in a secluded life but no one, so far, had given a message of hope to the common people. It was Buddha who declared for the first time in the land that his was a message of deliverance for all human beings. It was not a philosophy which he preached but a life which he himself had experienced. His preachings therefore, came from his heart and into the hearts of the people they went. He put them with a logic and clarity of a person who had a mastery over them. And as the Singalese chronicles say, "his voice rang like the ringing of a great bell hung in the canopy of the sky" and within a few days many men became his disciples. The principal among them was a rich young man named Yassa who had first come to him at night out of

fear of his relatives and afterwards succeeded in bringing many of his friends and companions to the Master. It was about Yassa that Buddha once said, "He who though dessed in gorgious appareal, walks in the way of Truth."

After the rainy season was over, he selected sixty of his disciples and founded his Church—the Sungh or the Holy Brother-hood to preach his gospel to the world. He gathered them and said, "Beloved monks, I am free from the Five Passions which like an immense net hold men and gods in their pwers. You, being my disciples, too enjoy the same glorious privilege. There now lays upon our shoulders the great responsibility of working effectively for the salvation of all human beings. Let us, therefore, depart from each other for this purpose."

Before sending them on to their journey, he gathered them again and said, "Go now Brethern, and wonder forth in the land for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many out of compassion for the suffering world. Dedicate your life for the welfare of all human beings. Preach the glorious Law to all, high and low, gods and men with distinction. Let everything about it be made publicly known and brought to broad day light.....There are many who have the wisdom to understand the Law and will listen to you. But should those who are not with you, speak ill of me or the Law or the Church, there is no reason why you should be provoked and give way to anger. He who having been provoked gives way to anger, is sinful, but he who having been provoked refrains from it, has won a mighty victory.

Lead a simple, kind and pure life and preah the same to the people. Do not ask for anything and do not accept more than what you require." And so say, he commissioned them to preach his gospel to the world.

After sending them on to their mission, he himself started for Uruvela. On his way he stayed in a forest and lay down for a short rest under a tree. At that time some noblemen had come to that forest to indulge in sports and enjoy themselves. They were accompanied by their wives with the exception of one who having no wife, was accompanied by a harlot. During the night, the harlot rose up unperceived,

picked up the best articles belonging to the party and made her way through the dense forest. The noblemen, waking from their sleep, found their dresses and other articles missing and set off in search of the harlot. They came to the spot where Buddha was lying and asked him if he had seen a woman passing by with some articles. Buddha said to them. "Which in your opinion is the best and most advantageous to go in search of a woman or to go in search of yourselves?" They replied. "Of course, it is better to look after ourselves" If so, said Buddha. "Stay for a while and I shall tell you how to look after yourselves." They gladly accepted to listen to his advice and Buddha preached them the Law. They were very much impressed by his teachings and giving up their bad habits, became his disciples.

He proceeded to Uruvela where a Brahmo monk named Kasypa was living. This learned Brahmin enjoyed a good reputation as a teacher and had gathered around himself a number of disciples. Buddha went to him and requested him to accommodate him in his kitchen if there was no other place that could be made available for him to live in. He was allowed to serve in the kitchen and it was in this way that Buddha got a chance to preach his gospel to the proud Brahmin and his followers. Within a short time Kasypa was converted to Buddha's Faith and with him the whole assembly of his followers consisting of two thousand men, became his disciples, Kasypa, later proved to be one of the most staunch adherents of Buddha and on his death became the first patriarch of the Buddhist Church.

Accompanied by Kasypa and his newly won disciples, he went to Gaya and passed through a jungle in which fire had broken out. He took them all on a mountain and pointing out to the fire said, "Behold Brethren, everything is on fire. All that is to be met with in life is also like a burning flame. The feelings created by view, are like a burning flame. The cause productive such a burning is the fire of concupiscence, of anger, of ignorance, of birth, of age and of anxiety.

Again, the ear is like a burning flame. The sounds, the perception of sounds, the sensation caused by sounds are all like a burning flame which is fed by the fire of concupiscence, anger, ignorance, birth, age, death, anxiety, tears, laughter, affections and sorrows.

Again, the sense of smelling is like a burning flame. The odours the perception of odours, the sensation produced by odours, the pleasure and pain resulting therefrom, are all like a burning flame.

Again the taste is like a burning flame ; the objects tasted, the perception of those objects, the sensation produced by them, are all like a burning flame. Likewise, the sense of feeling, the objects felt, the perception of those objects, the sensation produced by them are all like a burning flame.

Man is unhappy because he moves in a dance of desire which is like a burning flame. When the desire of lust, hate and delusion is extinguished the Nirvana is achieved. Nirvana means the blowing of this fire. Go and extinguish this fire.

Those who understand the Doctrine I preach, are full of wisdom. They are not pleased by the senses and affections of the heart. They are free from desire and exempt from passion.

He was staying in Gaya when he received an invitation from Bimbasara—the Shishunage king of Magadha to visit his court. Buddha went to Rajgiri, the capital of Magadha, accompanied by Kasypa and a number of his followers and gave his message to the king and his courtiers. They were very much impressed by his teachings and like a piece of white cloth which when plunged into dye retains the colour it receives, were all converted to his Doctrine and became his disciples. The king gave away his pleasure gardens for the use of the Sungh and Buddha spent many rainy seasons which he used to observe as holiday time, at this place. This place, gradually became a great centre of Buddhism and attracted many people to the Order. The principal among those were Sariputra and Maha Moggallana who are known in the history of the Buddhist Church as "the model pair". It is the same place where the famous university of Nalanda, which served as the great centre of learning in Asia for a long time, was established later on.

At this stage, the sixty disciples whom he had sent to preach from Benares, joined him and they spent some time together at this place.

His aged father Siddhudana also came to know about his son and sent his messangers to Rajgiri with the desire to see him. The Prince, now in his humble yellow monks' robes with a begging bowl in his hands, started towards the capital of his father with a team of his followers and encamped outside the city. All his kinsmen came out to see him there and he gave them an impressive sermon—the only gift which he had brought back after the absence of seven long years. All the members of his family heard him and became his disciples. It was there that his cousin Ananda, who played an important role in the early history of the Buddhist Church and a brother of his wife named Devaditta who equally tried to disrupt it towards the end of his life became his disciples and joined the Sangha. His aunt Prajapati Gautami and his wife Yashodhara also became his disciples. The little Rahula also came and asked for his inheritance. Buddha replied, "My son, there is no greater inheritance than the Law which I have brought for you."

From Kapilavastu Buddha came back to Rajgiri and spent the rainy season there. He then went to Vaisali; the capital of the Lachhavas to preach his gospel there. The country was suffering from a terrible famine at that time. Buddha visited the pest-stricken parts and caused his rich followers to establish alms houses and asylums for the sufferers. Thus, he instituted famine relief in which even the poor shared in giving some sort of personal service.

After spending the rainy season at his headquarters in Nalanda he went to Vaisali again and took his residence in a sala tree forest where he built a monastery for himself. He had not stayed there for long when he heard about a dispute which rose between the Sakyas and the Koliyas over the distribution of the water of the river Rohini which served as a boundary between the two states. It became so acute that both the parties decided to meet in battle. For Buddha, the blood of the Sakyas and the Koliyas was in no way cheaper than the water of the Rohini. He went to Devadeh as a mediator and pacify both the parties with his words of love and peace.

He returned to Vaisali again but this time heard about the illness of his father and went to Kapilavastu for the third time with Ananda

and a few other disciples. The king was happy to see his son but he was weak and died after seven days of his arrival at the advanced age of ninety-seven.

After his father's demise, when all the people assembled round his death-bed, Buddha said to them, "Beloved brethren, behold the remains of my father. He is no longer what he was a little while ago. No one can offer an effectual and lasting resistance to the principle of death which is inherent in all beings. Be delighted in the practice of good deeds and follow steadily the four roads which lead to perfection."

It was after her husband's death that Prajapati desired to renounce the world and join the Sungh. His wife Yashodhara also expressed a similar desire. Buddha after some deliberations allowed them to do so and a separate branch for women was opened at their joining the ungh.

From Kapilavastu he went back to Rajgiri and Kosala Devi, the first queen of king Bimbisara who was so proud of her rank, youth and beauty, was converted to Buddhas' Doctrine at last.

Buddha then went to Sarasvati—the capital of the kingdom of Kosala. King Prasanajit who was a relative of Bimbisara, welcomed him and became his disciple. He also built a monastery and offered it to Buddha for the use of the Sungh.

From Sarasvati Buddha went to Viasali. The heretics who swarmed in this city and its neighbourhood had become exceedingly jealous of his success and popularity. The loss which they sustained in the donations of the people, added fuel to the fire and they resolved to lower down his prestige in the estimation of those who respected him. For this purpose they hired a woman to declare publicly that Buddha had lived with her and she was pregnant of him. She put on a wooden globe over her abdomen and appearing like a pregnant woman went about in the city spreading evil reports about his character. She even went to the monastery where Buddha was living and in the presence of his disciples asked him to provide a place for her approaching confinement and manage for the maintenance of herself and the child she was by him pregnant with. But, conscious of his innocence, Buddha lost nothing of his

usual composure and serenity. Very soon this clumsy design of his opponents was exposed. One night when the woman took off the wooden globe from her body for relaxation, a rat nibbled the strings that kept up on the abdomen the apparatus designed to prop up the deceit. Next day when she went to do her usual propaganda in the city the wooden globe fell down on the ground before all her listeners. She was put to great shame and was never seen again. "As dust thrown against the wind, is blown back on him who throws the dust, so the evil deeds of a man to injure the inoffensive or accuse the innocent, recoil upon the man himself," says Buddha.

In the ninth year of his preaching, he went to Kausambi which was situated to the south west of Allahabad on the Ganges. At this place Buddha was ill-treated mainly through the hatred of the queen of the city. People abused him and threw dust on him when he entered the city. His disciple Ananda requested him to leave the place and said, "My lord it is of no use wasting time here. Let us go to some other place where people can give us a better reception and hear us." Buddha replied, "Ananda, my friend, if we receive the same bad treatment at the new place, what is to be done then?" Ananda promptly said, "My lord, we shall go to a third place." Buddha again said to Ananda, "Suppose we receive the same bad treatment at the third place also." Then Ananda kept quiet and Buddha said, "Ananda, a little patience will save us the trouble of so many travels. By prudence and perseverance wise men conquer their enemies."

It is not known how long Buddha had to stay at Kausambi and how long the people of this city continued ill-treating him. But when he died, one of the prince-converts who came to pay their last homage to the Master and were eager to share his sacred relics, was the king of Kausambi.

He was addressing a gathering in the country when a farmer came and stood amongst his listeners. The poor man had lost his cow and spent the whole day in search of it. Knowing that he was tired and hungry, Buddha stopped preaching and asked his men to feed him first so that he might be able to listen to him.

After spending his 44th rainy season at Nalanda he started towards Vaisali and on his way stayed at Patali (Patliputra) in a hall which was built by king Ajatasatru to confer with the Lachhavi king. In Vaisali he spent his 45th and the last season. A few months before his death he was overtaken by a terrible pain in the stomach but recovered soon though not completely. At Pawa after a sermon he was invited by a rich goldsmith named Chanda to a dinner and was served with the vegetable of young bamboo plant and rice. Buddha was not keeping good digestion. He took this food and got dysentery. But, inspite of his ill health, he started on his journey towards the east. On his way his condition became worse and he asked Ananda to bring him some water to drink. Ananda went and brought some water from the neighbouring stream. He drank it and started again. After resting again he reached the river Hiranyavati close to the city of Kushinagara—a place which has been identified with the town of Khasia the northern sub-division of the Gorakhpur district. There in the gardens of the Mallas, the chiefs of the place he said to Ananda, "Ananda, my back pains me. I would like to take rest". Ananda spread his beddings between two big sala trees and he lay down for rest. After sometime he gethered his companions and told them that his end was near. Then thinking that they might not hold the goldsmith responsible for his death, he told them that the two gifts which he had received during his life on this earth, would be most valued in heaven. One was the gift of Shajita who offered him food at the time of his enlightenment and the second was the dinner given by Chanda after taking of which he was leaving his body.

Hearing that the Master was soon to depart, Ananda began to weep. Buddha called him nearer and said, "For long years, Ananda, you have been close to me. You have served me both with your words and deeds. I thank you for all the kindness and courtesy you have shown towards me. You have done your duty well."

"Do not weep Ananda, and do not let your heart be troubled. You know what I have already told. Sooner or later we must part with all that we hold most dear. This body of ours contains within

itself the powers that renew its strength but also the elements which leads to its dissolution."

In the evening a Brahmin of Kushinagara named Subhadra came to ask him some questions, but keeping in view the condition of the Master and thinking that he should not be disturbed at that time Ananda did not allow him to go in. Buddha heard their talk and told Ananda to let him in. Subhadra after paying his respects to the Master, sat down and asked him about the path which lead to true wisdom. Buddha said to Subhadra, "There is only one way to true wisdom—the path which is laid down in the law. Many have already followed it and conquering the lust, pride and anger of their hearts have become free from ignorance and doubt and entered the calm state of universal kindness and attained Nirvana. O, Subhadra, I do not speak to you of things I have not experienced. Since I was 29 years old till now I have striven after pure and perfect wisdom and following the Noble Path have achieve Nirvana."

He then called his companions and urged them to respect one another. After a pause he said, "If there is a doubt or perplexity in the mind of those who are present here, question me now and repent not afterwards. But all the disciples remained silent and for the second time he repeated the same question. Then he said, "Perhaps it is out of respect for the Master that you do not like to question me in the presence of everybody. Let one brother tell to another and then question me and I will give you an explanation. But they all remained silent. When nobody asked him any question, he said, "It is true, no doubt can be found in the mind of a true believer."

After another pause he said, "Great is the fruit: great is the advantages of meditation accompanied by upright conduct; great is the advantage of wisdom accompanied by meditation. The mind which has such wisdom is free from intoxication, from the desires of the senses, from love of life, from delusion and ignorance."

He continued, And now brethren, I take my leave of you. All component things are subject of decay. Death is sure to come to all those who are born. Do not fear death but work out your

salvation diligently "His favourite disciple Ananda asked him," My Lord, who is going to lead us in your absence. "Buddha replied," Ananda, be a light to yourself; be a guide to yourself and look not for refuge to anyone beside yourself. Hold fast the Law and let it be your guide after me."

After a while he uncovered his body and said, "Brethren, look well at Tathagatas' bodies for it is as hard to find a Tathagata in this world as to see a flower in a fig tree." And these were the last words he spoke.

Then lying majestic upon his right side, with his head resting on his right arm in the attitude of a lion, he breathed his last. More than half the night had passed and the full moon of the month of Vaisakha slowly faded away in the dawn of a sad Tuesday.

In the morning the Malla were informed about the death of Buddha. They came and arranged the dead body to be carried in the state on the other side of the river Hirayavati where it was cremated without any ceremony according to his will. The sacred ashes were distributed amongst the rulers of Kushinagara, Vaisali, Magadha, Kapilavastu, Kosala, Sarsavati and Kausambi, who took them to their kingdoms and built big monasteries over them.

